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THE EVOLUTION OF A HELIOTROPIC TOURISM LANDSCAPE:

THE CASE OF ANTIGUA.

by

David Bruce Weaver

Department of Geography

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
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ABSTRACT

Geographers have only begun to examine the phenomenon of tourism in the Third World, despite the increasing importance of the activity. Existing models of tourism space were found to be inadequate to represent the evolution of these emerging tourist destinations. Using the Caribbean island of Antigua as a case study, the spatial development of tourism in underdeveloped small scale peripheral environments was investigated and modelled. Four stages of tourism development (pre-tourism, transition, early tourism dominant and late tourism dominant) were initially identified using absolute tourist arrivals and an economic transition model for the island. These were then profiled during a historical description of Antigua's tourist industry, and subsequently modelled using an ordinaly based classification scheme which recognized primary, secondary, tertiary, and non-tourism elements of landscape. The pre-tourism model is characterized by the dominance of non-tourism space, as tourists were accommodated within the existing plantation system. Specialized or primary facilities begin to appear during the transition stage, along with localized indirect effects upon agriculture and

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employment. Non-tourism space disappears altogether in integrated areas during the tourism dominant stage, and the mature tourism landscape which is eventually expected to emerge is characterized by the concentric ring model, with the relationship with tourism decreasing toward the interior. Heliotropically oriented tourism types which existed in the mature landscape included yachting, cruise ships, resort hotels, residential tourism and self-catering tourism. The physical, cultural and intangible factors which distort the model in "real life" situations were also discussed, followed by an examination of the variables which influence the resort cycle. Finally, the tourism landscape was discussed in relation to the ongoing debate about the development process. The structuralist interpretation emphasized the existence of a dualistic, unequal space, while the traditionalists stressed the presence of tourist facilities as an indication of, and vehicle for economic development.

IV

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue

Geography is fundamentally concerned with the role of man as a modifier of space. His development as an increasingly complex, diverse and influential agent of environmental change is revealed in the study of past and present landscapes. Through the evolution of human societies, the availability of "non-work" or leisure time has become more widespread, leading to the emergence of specialized landscapes which reflect the recreational demands of "homo ludens" (Huizinga 1950). Tourism constitutes one form of leisure activity, entailing nonobligatory travel; the landscapes which evolve as a consequence of these temporary migrations are the subject of this enquiry.

1.2 Research Objectives

The present study examines the significance of tourism as an agent of landscape change in peripheral regions. Utilizing the island of Antigua as a case study, the primary objective of the investigation is to model the spatial development of small scale Third World tourist destinations, especially within the Caribbean. This entails several related objectives: first, existing models of tourism space will be outlined and critically assessed as to their utility for describing the development of peripheral destinations. Secondly, stages of tourism development in Antigua will be identified on the combined basis of absolute tourist arrivals and a model of relative economic change. Tourism landscapes for each of these stages will be profiled within the case study history which follows. A classification scheme is then proposed in order to conceptualize and model the profiles. The factors which distort the resulting model in "real life" situations will also be identified, along with the variables which account for the growth of arrivals to Third World tourist destinations. Finally, the study will explore the relationship between the model and the "development" process.

A secondary objective of the thesis is to provide a

history of tourism development in Antigua for its own sake, since such an examination has not previously been undertaken. Such an exercise is inherently interesting to the historical geographer, although it is not the intent to provide any conceptual breakthroughs in this area.

1.3 Thesis Organization

The remainder of chapter one provides the structural and academic context for the study. The nature and growth of tourism are examined, definitions are provided, and the emergence of the underdeveloped world as a major tourist destination area is emphasized. Certain relevant aspects of the relationship between tourism and Geography, such as the emergence of tourism space models, are then discussed. This material, as well as chapters two and three, are essential to the actual modelling and discussion which occurs in chapter four. Chapter two considers the appropriateness of Antigua as a case study for the examination of Third World and Caribbean tourism landscapes. Economic and touristic data cited here form the basis for the identification of apparent stages of tourism development in the following chapter. The context of Caribbean underdevelopment and a description of Antigua are also provided, since these are expected to influence the model. Chapter three describes the

historical development of the Antiguan tourist industry,⁴ with landscape profiles being provided for each of the stages. Chapter four conceptualizes and analyzes these major stages of development, which culminate in the speculative mature tourism landscape model. Consideration is also given to the theoretical implications of the model for the geography of tourism. Closer attention will be paid to the types of tourism activity associated with Third World environments such as Antigua, and to their change in character through successive stages of development. As well, factors which result in local distortions from the model and those which account for the pattern of tourism growth will be examined. Chapter five discusses the model within the context of the modernization process, interpreting the results through two major paradigms. Personal observations will then be made regarding the effects of tourism upon Antigua.

1.4 The Nature of Tourism

1.4.1 Concepts

The nature of tourism must be addressed initially in order to reveal certain inherent conceptual ambiguities and the efforts to overcome these through the formulation of standard operational definitions. Zimolzak and

Stansfield (1983, 446) describe tourism as a form of recreational activity which necessarily implies travel. A more comprehensive definition is provided by Burkart and Medlik (1981, 42), who state that "...tourism denotes the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and their activities during the stay at these destinations." The essential elements which appear to separate tourism from other forms of leisure activity, and which need to be clarified, entail parameters of movement, duration and motive.

Several attempts have been made to distinguish tourist movements from other forms of travel through the establishment of set distance thresholds between points of origin and destination (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, 11). For example, L. Mitchell (1984, 5) describes trips of less than one hundred miles and four hours as instances of "recreation", as opposed to tourism. These arbitrary measures are deemed unsatisfactory due to problems of data collection, and because of the difficulties encountered when attempting to reconcile such thresholds with individual perceptions regarding the amount and type of travel which constitute tourism. The problem of defining a tourist movement on the basis of distance alone is more commonly encountered when dealing with internal or "domestic" tourism. Individual international boundary crossings, in contrast, have become generally accepted as

a distance independent standard for identifying "international" tourists, provided that additional criteria are also fulfilled.

A second characteristic emphasizes the temporary duration of stay in the destination area, thereby excluding permanent forms of migration from the definition of tourism. Despite this constraint, length of stay may still vary considerably from a period of less than twenty-four hours, (in which case the traveller is defined as an "excursionist"), to seasonal and long term, or semipermanent visits. An individual who remains beyond a twenty-four hour period in a particular country is referred to as a "stayover" tourist.

In addition to the criteria discussed above, certain motivational prerequisites should be satisfied in order for some forms of travel to qualify as legitimate instances of tourism. Tourist activities are very frequently, though not exclusively associated with leisure or recreation; Mathieson and Wall (1982, 11) characterize tourism as a primarily nonobligatory activity which involves no monetary remuneration during the stay. Temporary transboundary labour migrations and military movements are clearly excluded by these qualifications, if not by intuition, although the ultimate status of certain other categories remains unclear and unresolved. For example, P. Pearce (1982, 32) reflects the absence of a conceptual consensus on motivational criteria by accepting

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at least fifteen distinct "tourist" roles, including "migrant", "missionary", "overseas student", "businessman", "international athlete" and "overseas journalist". Subjective typologies based upon behaviour rather than function have been proposed by V. Smith (1977, 9) and Cohen (1979), who contrast the adaptable but numerically infrequent "explorer" and "existentialist" with the mass "charter" and "diversionary" tourist at the opposite end of the motivational continuum. Plog (1972) has characterized these two extremes of tourist behaviour respectively as "allocentric" and "psychocentric". An endless variety of subjective conceptual tourist classifications is possible, reinforcing the need for specific definitions in order to identify and measure the phenomenon with which the study is concerned.

1.4.2 Operational Definitions and Indices

The study will utilize the technical definitions of tourism established by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations in 1963 (IUOTO 1963, 14; now the World Tourism Organization) in order to facilitate and standardize the collection of tourism related data by member states. "International tourists" are defined as

1. Tourists who are temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified

under one of the following headings;
 (a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport)

(b) business, family, mission, meeting.

2. Excursionists who are temporary visitors staying less than 24 hours in the country visited, including travellers on cruise ships.

The "temporary visitors" cited in number one above will be designated as "stayovers", while "tourist", unless otherwise specified, will be used in a more general context to include both stayovers and excursionists.

Several measures of tourism intensity are referred to in the study and included in appendices 1 and 2, in order to facilitate a comparison of Caribbean destinations and to gauge the changing intensity of tourism development within Antigua. The "tourist function index" (D. Pearce 1979, 249), is expressed as

$$\frac{100N}{P}$$

where N represents the total number of accommodation units (rooms) and P is the population of the destination area.

This index provides an indication of relative intensity which is especially useful when attempting to assess tourism's impact upon destination areas. In addition, a "tourist day average" (tda) is calculated as

$$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^n T_i L_i x_i}{t}$$

where T is the total number of tourists or some

combination of subgroups visiting a destination during the time period t (expressed in days), L is the average length of stay in days for that combination, and x is a binary variable equal to one for all subgroups of T being considered, and equal to zero for those being excluded. The tourist day average indicates the average daily number of tourists, or some portion thereof, present in a destination over a given period of time. Finally, a "tourist-host ratio" (thr) is expressed as

$$\frac{P}{\sum_{i=1}^n T_i L_i x_i}$$

where P represents the resident population of the destination. This ratio measures the number of local residents per tourist on average for any given day over the time period being considered. The latter two measures are useful in assessing the relative impact of tourism upon local environments and societies over specified periods of time, and for isolating specific subgroups of tourists, such as excursionists and residential tourists, whose average length of stay varies significantly from the overall mean.

Specific terms denote the accommodation types which are associated with tourism. Conforming to wide acceptance of a facility classification based upon size, "hotels" are defined as multi-unit resort structures which

may be "small" (less than 25 rooms), "medium" (25-49 rooms) or "large" (over 50 rooms). The term "guesthouse" usually identifies a form of tourist accommodation which has the external appearance of a dwelling and contains less than ten rooms. However, since actual membership in this category is determined by the individual tourist authorities of the destination states, some deviation in definition does exist. This ambiguity does not present a major problem, as very few guesthouses exceed the ten room threshold, while most hotels are larger. "Apartments" refer to a variety of self catering multi-unit facilities including apartment-hotels, condominiums and time-share units. These differ from hotels in two major respects, one or both of which may apply in a given situation; tourists may account for some portion of unit ownership, while the facilities are usually self-catering. The rationale for such a distinction is considered more thoroughly in section 4.3.5. Finally, "residences" are single unit dwellings owned or rented by visitors, who are accordingly classified as "residential tourists", provided that other criteria of motivation and duration are fulfilled.

1.3 The Growth of Tourism

Tourism should not be perceived as a distinctly

modern phenomenon, given the parameters defined by the World Tourism Organization in section 1.4.2. Graburn (1977, 17) maintains that "In its (tourism's) special aspect- travel- it has antecedents and equivalents in other seemingly more purposeful institutions such as medieval student travel, the Crusades, and European and Asian pilgrimage circuits". The "Grand Tour" of Europe, undertaken by scholars, diplomats and businessmen during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is more frequently accepted as an incipient form of tourism (McIntosh and Goeldner 1984, 19) while the establishment of health spas in ancient times represents an early type of landscape development clearly associated with a resort function (Cohen 1979, 183). The historical context of such developments is indicated by the extensive bathing facilities at Tiberias, which were established by King Solomon, and by the ancient town of Jericho, which was well known as a winter resort during the era of Cleopatra (Ritter 1967, 169). Early resort utilization was limited to the more privileged classes until the Western Industrial Revolution, when improvements in rail transportation and wage conditions resulted in the gradual opening of the formerly exclusive coastal resorts to the working classes. The resort function of Blackpool, England was recognized as early as 1786 (G. Young 1973, 15), while Atlantic City, New Jersey experienced its initial recreation induced growth during the 1850's

following the construction of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad from Philadelphia (Stansfield 1978). A study of Nice, France by Haug (1982) further illustrates the significant local impact of tourism as an agent of landscape change in a premodern context.

Sir Thomas Cook's provision of a package tour for visitors to the 1855 Paris Exhibition is occasionally cited as the first instance of modern "industrial" tourism, in recognition of its specialized nature and businesslike emphasis on profitable economies of scale (G. Young 1973, 20). Domestic and international tourist arrivals increased steadily over the next century despite the disruptive influence of two world wars. As the experience of tourism became more egalitarian, the emphasis on rest and recreation as dominant motivations for travel increased, which in turn stimulated the large scale establishment of specialized facilities in suitable and accessible areas of the industrializing world. Portions of the English and French coasts may be cited as examples of regional landscape change associated with tourism in the first half of the twentieth century.

Since World War Two, the travel industry has experienced an unprecedented rate of growth far exceeding the rate of population expansion in the more developed areas. International tourist arrivals have increased at an annual rate of 7-8% since 1950 (Stanley 1982, 5), when twenty-five million visitors were recorded worldwide

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(Lundgren 1973, 4). The period between 1960 and 1973 in particular has been described as the "golden age of rapid growth" (Waters 1984, 9). By 1980, international tourism alone had increased exponentially to 285 million arrivals, accounting for expenditures of US\$ 92 billion (International Tourism Quarterly 1981, 1). If domestic tourism were to be included, these statistics would increase fourfold (Lundgren 1973, 3, D. Pearce 1981, 1). Certain analysts have predicted that international tourism will outperform all other economic sectors in the next twenty years to become the world's largest single industry, notwithstanding a decline in growth rates since the mid 1970's (Kahn 1976, 40, Papson 1979).

The factors underlying the expansion of modern tourism from a market demand perspective are well known, and require only brief reiteration. The increased propensity to travel is associated with the economic, social and technological developments which have transformed the more industrialized societies over the last fifty years, allowing for the attainment of "a level of productivity sufficient to sustain leisure" on a mass scale (Nash 1977, 35). During this time, the real discretionary income and free time of a much expanded labour force have increased, accompanied by a growing tendency to allocate these for travel purposes (Emery 1981, 50). This in turn is reinforced by an indicated preference of the American labour force for extended

single bloc vacation time, conducive to long distance travel, over a reduced work week (Dunn 1976, 22). The development of jet technology and operational economies of scale have also facilitated the transportation of greater passenger loads over a shorter period of time at relatively cheaper costs (Papson 1979, 252-53).

On a more subjective level, Graburn (1977) emphasizes the structural necessity of tourism and other forms of leisure as mechanisms for coping with the inherent tensions of modernization. Boorstin (1964) alludes to modern man's quest for novelty and the desire to rediscover primordial roots in the pre-industrial environment offered by some destinations, while Emery (1981) stresses the association between foreign travel and increased social status. Commercial and government interests in addition have effectively utilized the mass media as a vehicle for enhancing the desirability of travel.

1.6 The Emergent "Pleasure Periphery"

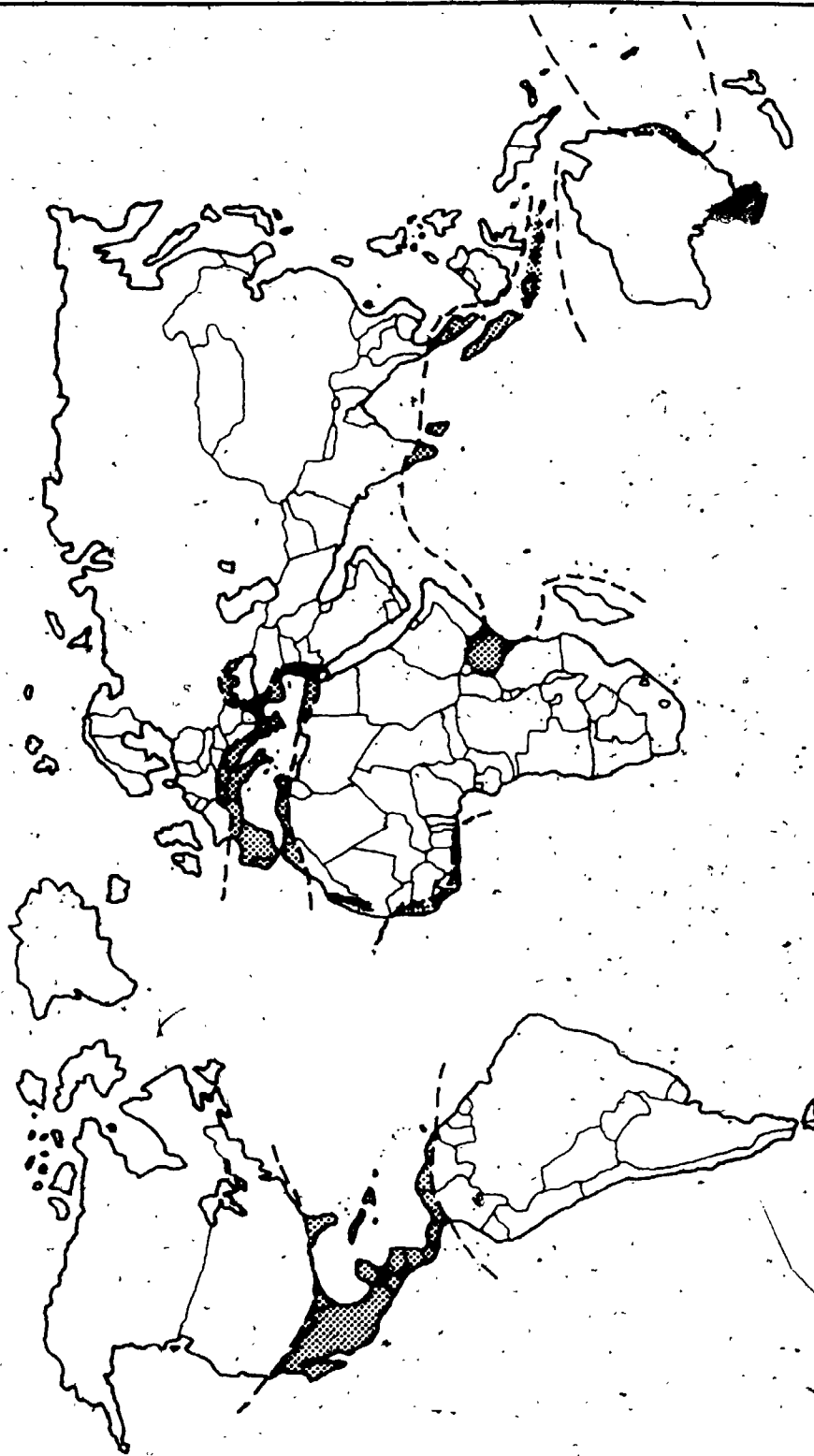
The early growth of mass tourism was locally confined to the major cities and resorts within the more economically advanced countries. Christaller (1964) noted the tendency of certain modern European tourism forms to depart from this pattern by locating on a large scale in

the less accessible littoral and alpine peripheries, where distinct regions and landscapes of recreation supply subsequently emerged. By 1964, only 887 miles of Britain's 3,250 mile coastline were free from development, with recreational land uses accounting for most of this utilization (Stansfield 1970, 15). The British experience has been paralleled in North America by the development of Florida and other portions of the Atlantic American hinterland, resulting in urban forms which Zimolzak and Stansfield (1983, 431) refer to as a "leisureopolis". Within the Socialist sphere, the growth of a "Red Riviera" along the Black Sea littoral in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union must also be recognized (Zimolzak and Stansfield 1983, 431).

Through a diffusion-like process, mass tourism has recently penetrated on a large scale beyond the European and North American periphery into the less developed regions of the world. Certain observers have noted the emergence of a global "pleasure periphery" (Turner and Ash 1974) or "pleasure rim" (Zimolzak and Stansfield 1983, 421; see figure 1.1). However, these characterizations should not obscure the fact that certain Third World destinations, particularly in the Caribbean, have been exposed to international tourism since the mid 1800's (see section 2.1.3). While most international tourist movements continue to flow between developed countries, the share accruing to the developing nations has steadily,

Figure 1.1

THE PLEASURE PERIPHERY 1984



Sources: Zimoljak and Stansfield 1983, United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1982 - Generalized destination areas within the "pleasure periphery"

increased from 7.3% of the world total in 1962 to 15.3% in 1978, representing gross expenditures of US\$ 11.5 billion (Tlustv 1980, 10). Movements between Third World states account for a relatively minor portion of this traffic, as the great majority of visitors to developing countries continue to originate in the more affluent regions. This general pattern in large part reflects the growth of a travel motivation based upon the desire to relax within an amenable tropical environment.

The "pleasure periphery" consists for the most part of tropical littoral hinterlands in the Third World which have had a history of colonial links with the metropolitan countries of the developed world. Alpine environments such as the European Alps and Nepal are sometimes included, but these will not be considered in the present study because of their historical, physical and climatic contrasts with the more widely exploited environments of the tropical coastlands. Major regional concentrations include the Caribbean basin and Mexico, the Mediterranean-Black Sea basin, south-east Asia, and the islands of the southern Pacific Ocean. The tourist industries of the first three areas are functionally linked with North America, Europe and Japan-Australia respectively. Additional areas of incipient development include sections of the West African coast, parts of East Africa, and the islands of the Indian Ocean.

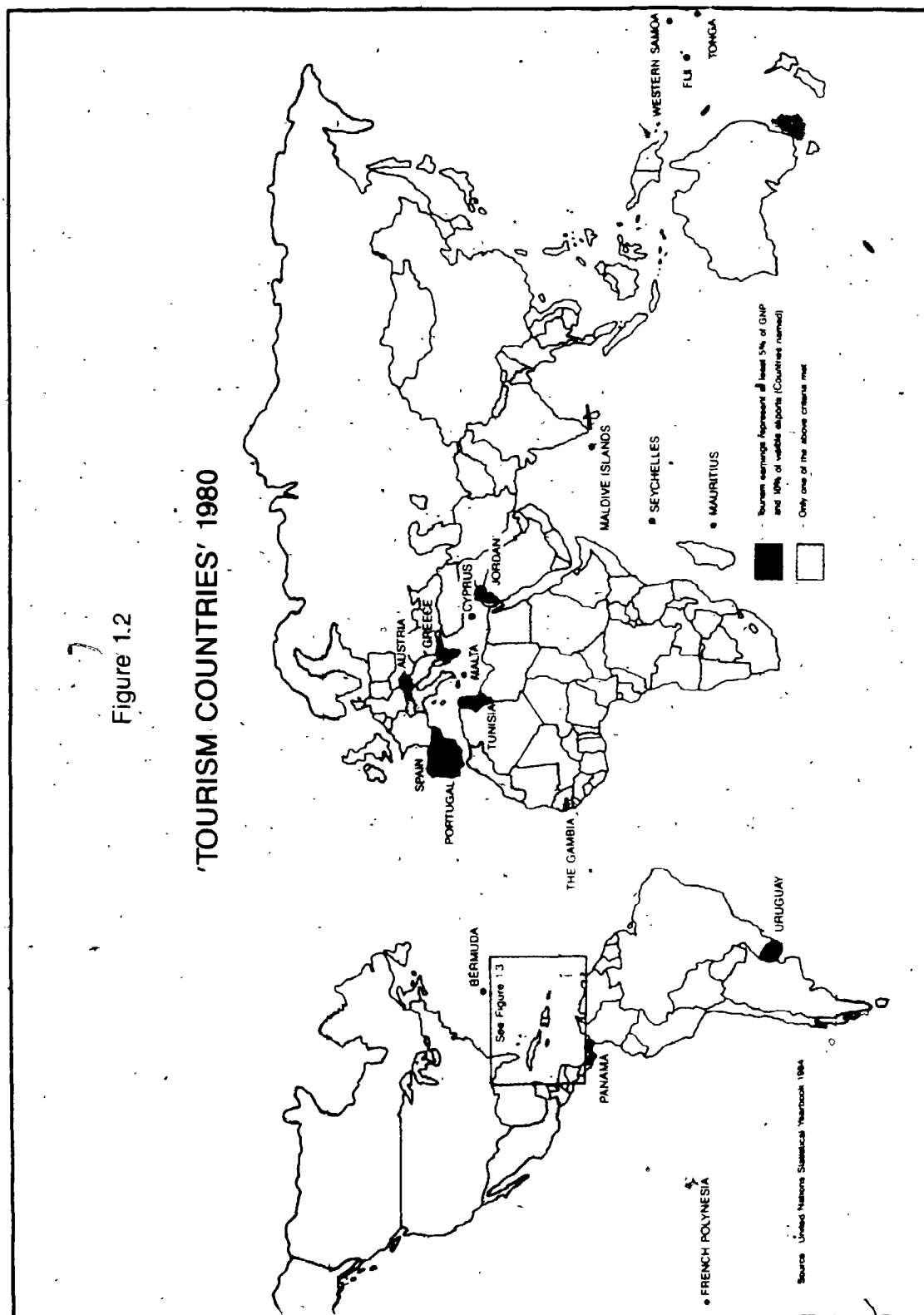
In order to statistically gauge the relative

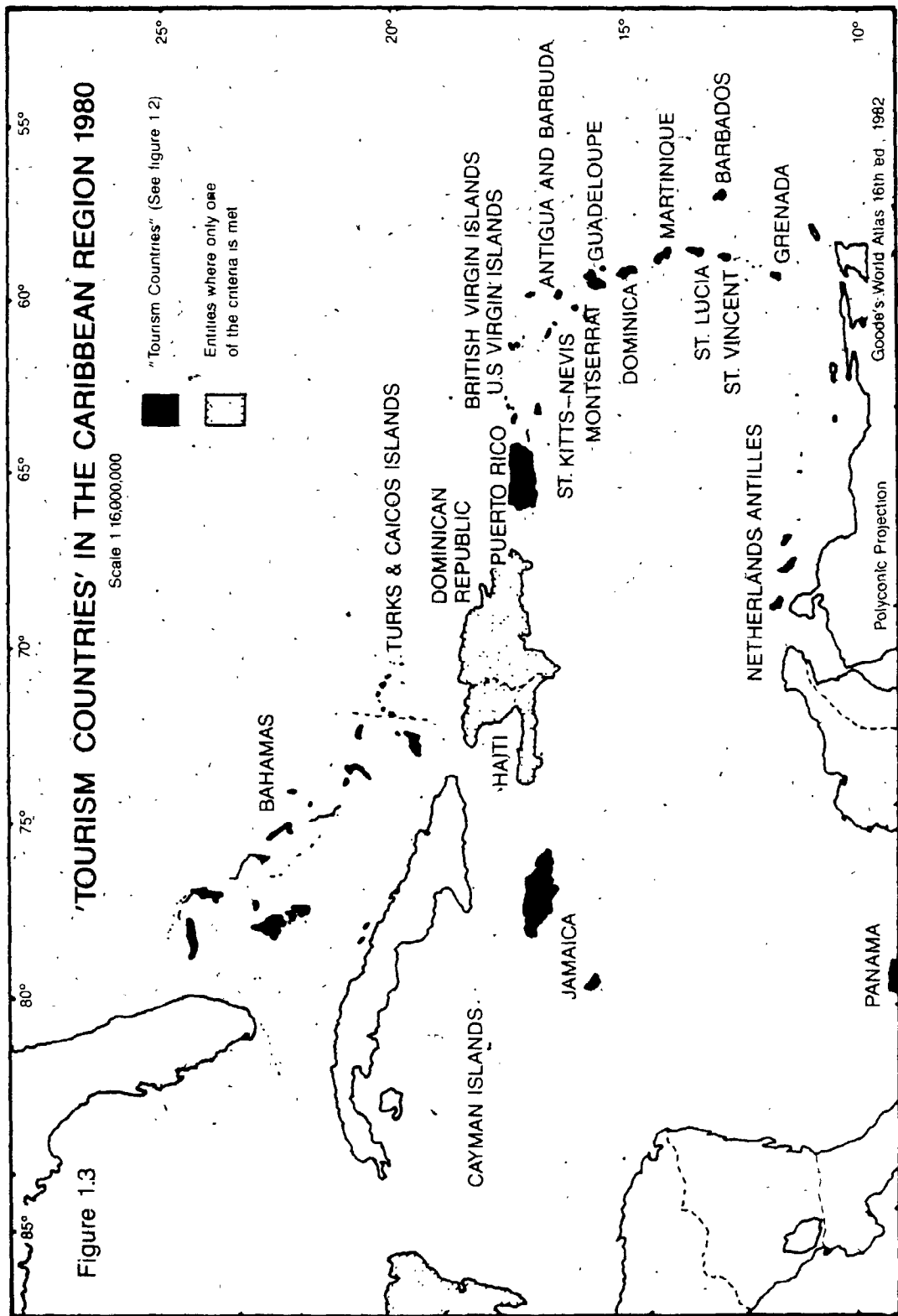
significance of international tourism upon individual states, Bryden (1973) has introduced the concept of a "tourism country", which identifies states where tourism is considered to constitute an essential component in the national economy. Tourism derived receipts in such an entity must represent at least 10% of the value of visible exports and 5% of the gross national product in any given year. Employing these criteria, figures 1.2 and 1.3 reveal that most "tourism countries", as expected, correspond to the "pleasure periphery" depicted in figure 1.1, and that the majority of these entities may best be described as microstates. In addition, the remarkable concentration of tourism countries in the Caribbean must be stressed. Further analysis at a subnational scale would reveal significant local regions of tourist activity, such as Goa, in India, the Indonesian island of Bali and the coasts of Algeria and Venezuela, all of which conform to the pattern of tourism development depicted in figure 1.1.

The emerging formal and functional regions of tourism are inherently interesting to the geographer. Considerable research potential exists in the problems of regional definition and development, while the intrinsic spatial impacts and characteristics of these areas are still only poorly appreciated. Further, the networks of tourism related movement being established between regions of supply and demand indicate new patterns of dependency

Figure 1.2

'TOURISM COUNTRIES' 1980





which need to be delineated and understood in greater detail. The remarkably brief span of time over which mass tourism has been introduced into the Third World, and the very high rate of growth which it has sustained in recent years are matters of particular concern within the context of the modernization process.

Tourism growth profiles for selected destinations within the underdeveloped world are provided in figure 1.5. While certain destinations have stabilized or declined slightly, the high growth rate profile is more typical at the present time. Since most of these recent visitors may be assigned to the "mass" or "diversionary" categories of V. Smith's typology (cited in section 1.4.1), the terms "heliotropic" and "sunlust" (Gray 1970) are appropriate in describing the dominant mode of Third World tourism which emphasizes the utilization of sea, sand and sun for leisure purposes. This contrasts with the concepts of "cultural" tourism, in which motivations are predominantly based upon expectations of intellectual stimulation (for example, a visit to Paris, London or Mexico City), "alpine" tourism, and "family" tourism (see section 4.3.6), where the tourist's destination is determined by the location of relatives or friends. Given the discussion and definitions provided in section 1.4, figure 1.4 depicts the main categories of tourism which may be expected to occur within a heliotropic tourist destination, based on length of stay and mode of

Figure 1.4

TOURISM CATEGORIES: APPROXIMATE LENGTH OF STAY

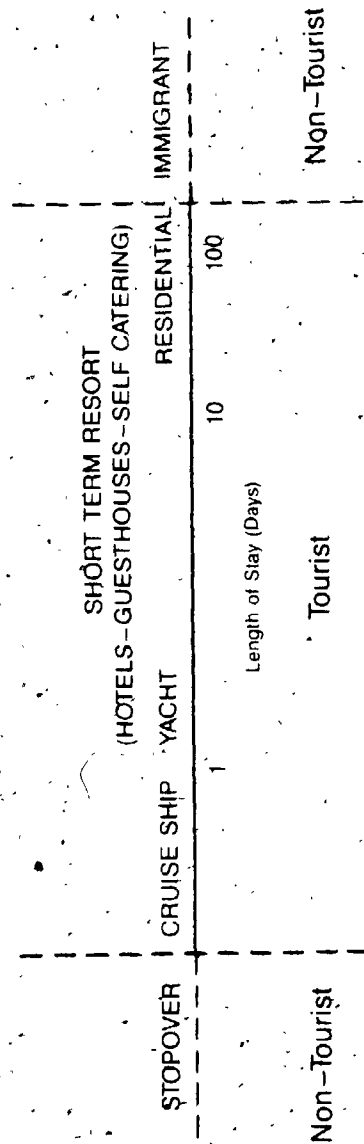
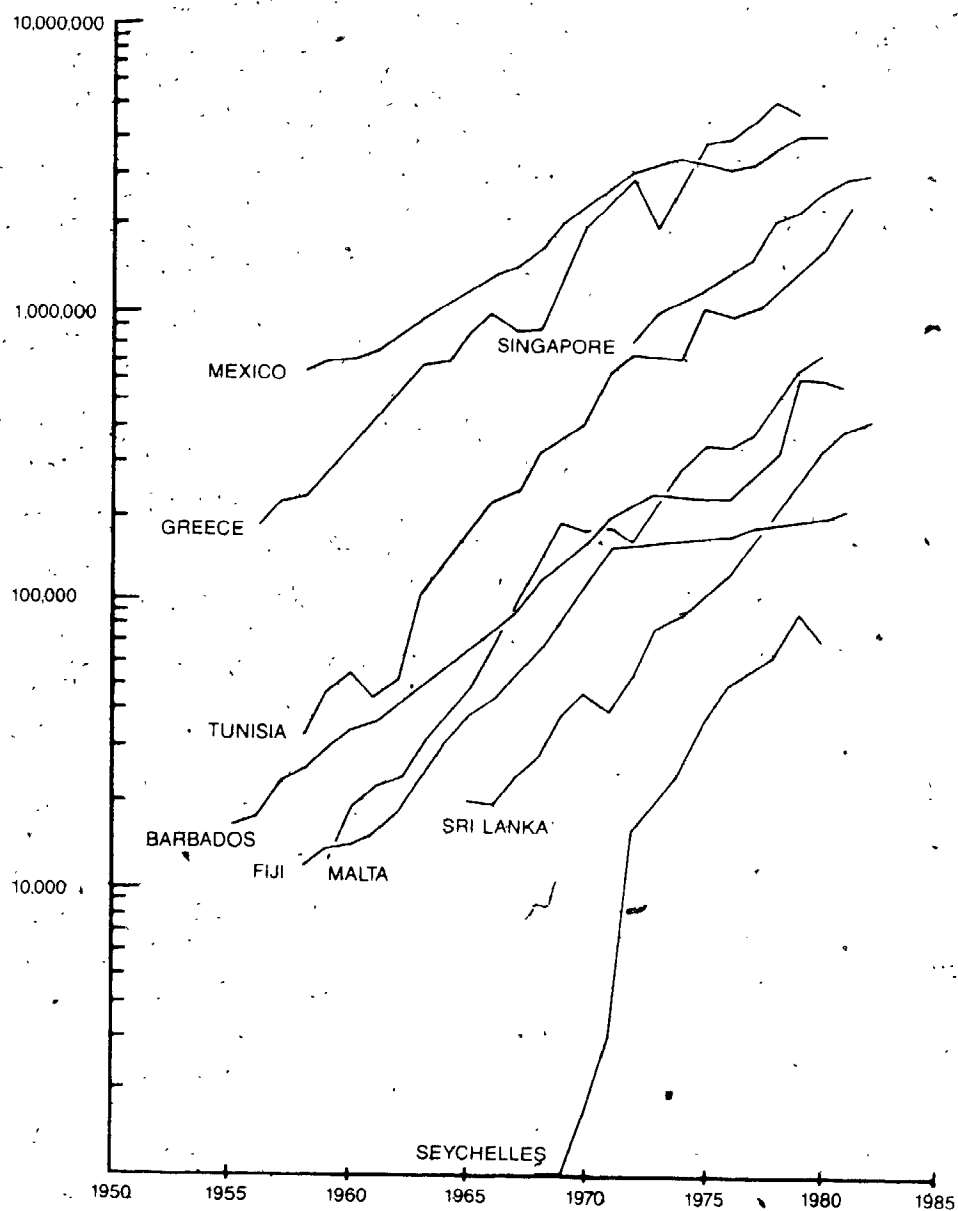


Figure 1.5

STAYOVER ARRIVAL GROWTH SELECTED DESTINATION AREAS WITHIN THE PLEASURE PERIPHERY



Source United Nations Statistical Yearbooks 1950-1984

accommodation. It is now necessary to consider the extent to which geographers have addressed the phenomenon of tourism, particularly in relation to its impact upon peripheral landscapes.

1.7 Review of the Literature: The Academic Context

The worldwide growth of the travel industry has generated a rapidly expanding body of tourism related literature in the social sciences. Significant theoretical contributions concerning tourist behaviour have been made by certain anthropologists and sociologists (Boorstin 1964, Turner and Ash 1974, Greenwood 1976, MacCannell 1976, W. Smith 1977, Cohen 1979, P. Pearce 1982), following the pioneering leisure oriented research of Veblen (1934) and Huizinga (1950). The potential for significant theoretical contributions from Geography is considerable, since tourism, as seen above, entails the selective utilization and modification of space, as well as the formation of dynamic linkages between tourist generating and tourist receiving areas. However, according to L. Mitchell (1979, 236):

The significance of tourism on the landscape is obvious, yet for some unknown reason the investigation of tourism has not been accepted by a large number of geographers as an important academic or intellectual endeavour.

R. Britton (1979, 276) points out that this neglect is attributable to the recent nature of mass tourism, the scarcity and inconsistency of available data, innate conceptual ambiguities (as discussed in section 1.4.1), and the persistent unwillingness of some academics to perceive tourism as a significant form of spatial activity.

Comprehensive reviews of the tourism related literature in geography have been compiled by R. Britton (1979), L. Mitchell (1979), D. Pearce (1979), Carlson (1980) and L. Mitchell and Smith (1985). As an academic context for the present study, the following discussion is intended to be more selective, revealing past (before 1970) and present (after 1970) trends in the subdiscipline, and emphasizing those studies which deal specifically with landscape impact, particularly in the Third World. No attempt is made to review, for example, the aspects of geographic research dealing with tourist behaviour or attitudes. Similarly, a comprehensive review of social, economic and physical impacts is already provided by Mathieson and Wall (1982).

1.7.1 Before 1970

Early references to tourism as a significant agent of landscape change were provided by McMurray (1930), who

examined the spatial impact of domestic tourist activities upon northern Minnesota, and Brown (1935), who suggested that the expansion of tourism offered "inviting possibilities" for geographic research. In addition, Jones (1933) considered the status of tourism as an economic activity in certain towns within the Canadian Rockies. The Geographical Review (1935, 509) described the process whereby certain places developed as popular destinations:

Tourism abhors a vacuum- the mere fact that a locality of touristic appeal is not frequented makes it more attractive to discriminating tourists. These pioneers go to such places, which presently become widely known as being "unspoiled by tourists" and because of this may come to attract more tourists...

The above observation constitutes one of the earliest allusions to the resort cycle concept, in which resort areas are seen to follow a regular pattern of spatial development and character change. Early tourism related case studies were undertaken by Gilbert (1949), who considered the development of Brighton, England as a coastal resort, and Pearson (1957), whose study of tourist regions in Jamaica may be cited as one of the pioneering attempts to examine the location of tourist facilities within a Third World context. The overall paucity of Third World case studies prior to 1970 reflected the contemporary assertion that "recreation, including

tourism, achieves significant proportions only in those segments of the occidental world that are relatively prosperous" (McMurray 1954, 251). While valid in absolute terms, this failed to take into account the significant relative impact of tourism upon the limited economies of certain peripheral areas, such as the Bahamas.

The clear postulation of the resort cycle concept by Christaller (1964) constituted a major development of the 1960's. Christaller maintained that the evolution of a destination occurred through a sequence of predictable stages, each of which was characterized by distinct landscapes, structures and patronage types. As an initially little known area became increasingly popular with tourists because of its obscurity, the original patrons would seek out new "unspoiled" destinations, allowing their former haunt to be gradually converted into a commercialized mass tourist magnet. Hence, "the pattern is one of continuous push to new regions of the periphery", where the cycle is initiated anew (Christaller 1964, 103). Christaller's research was indicative of the direction pursued by European geographers, who "generally agreed that the geography of tourism was mainly concerned with the spatial differentiation of tourism and the recognition of general regularities in its occurrence" (D. Pearce 1979, 247). In a similar vein, Fussell (1965) examined and mapped the development of resort facilities along the coast of South Carolina, while Ritter (1967)

considered the history and regionalization of tourism in Israel.

The early research efforts may be characterized as exploratory, idiosyncratic, and descriptive, indicating a lack of theoretical development. No significant models were offered and no attempts were made to pursue the avenues opened by the promising research efforts of Christaller and others. The absence of a critical perspective, with few notable exceptions (see for example Coker 1950) is also apparent, as most researchers at least implicitly accepted the premise that tourism related research was legitimized by the potential monetary benefits to be derived from the activity. For example, Mings (1969) alluded to the importance of intensive tourism development as a strategy for contributing to the economic growth of the Caribbean region, without considering the possible negative repercussions. Similar concerns appear to underly the attempt by Williams and Zelinsky (1970) to gauge patterns of international tourist movement. Given this emphasis and the relatively minor nature of tourism in most areas prior to 1970, it is not surprising that the geography of tourism was traditionally categorized in American circles as a branch of economic geography (McMurray 1954), a tendency which was carried over into the 1970's by some European geographers (Jędrzejewski 1978, 89).

1.7.2 Since 1970

The considerable growth of tourism related studies in Geography after 1970 has been noted by Carlson (1980). At least five main research directions can now be discerned, reflecting L. Mitchell's recent assertion (L. Mitchell, 1984, 6) that, as in any area of enquiry,

The examination of tourism phenomena is not guided by a consistent and widely accepted set of questions, methods, or theories. Rather, the subdiscipline is characterized by a plethora of approaches, techniques and generalizations that are almost impossible to classify in any objective manner.

The first indication of this intellectual foment is the emergence of a more critical body of literature in response to tourism's virtually unrestricted expansion throughout the Third World during the past forty years (Bryden 1973, Jafari 1974, Hills and Lundgren 1977, S. Britton 1982). Inspired by the structuralist school of economic development (see for example Frank 1969, Rodney 1972, Beckford 1973, Amin 1976), these researchers have tended to regard tourism as an activity which perpetuates existing structural and spatial inequalities between the developed countries and their underdeveloped Third World

hinterlands (see section 5.2). Their emphasis on the detrimental economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism has offered a clear challenge to the traditional perception of tourism as an unqualified benefit which facilitates the economic development of peripheral regions.

In response to these two essentially conflicting paradigms, certain researchers have recently come to advocate a "middle ground" approach to Third World tourism development, stressing the role of locally controlled scale appropriate technologies tailored to suit each individual destination. Case studies include Dominica (Cracknell 1973), St. Vincent (R. Britton 1977), and Bali, Indonesia (Rodenburg 1981), while Dernoï (1981) and Jenkins (1982) have provided general reviews of the approach and its application. The approach strongly emphasizes the uniqueness of "place", and laments the creation of homogeneous or "placeless" landscapes of tourism (Relph 1974). Its inspiration is derived in large part from the "Small is Beautiful" school of economic development popularized by Schumacher (1974), who has since been widely criticized by the ideologues representing one or the other extreme. An additional "nonpolitical" perspective advocates the planning approach, the proponents of which (for example Kaiser and Helber 1978, Collins 1979) assert the practical role of applied planning techniques in determining optimum

locations for tourism related developments, given a particular set of objectives.

The increasing application of quantitative techniques in the geography of tourism reflects a wider trend within the social sciences. Sophisticated analytical tools have been employed in order to expose previously unsuspected or unsubstantiated spatial relationships. For example, Pollard (1976) uses principal components analysis to differentiate the Caribbean islands on the basis of tourist origins, while Goodrich (1977) analyses tourist perceptions of the Caribbean using multidimensional scaling. Practical methodologies for identifying regions of tourist attractiveness have been proposed by Gearing, Swart and Var (1974) and Ferrario (1979). The use of such techniques is likely to increase as improved technology and methods of collection result in the compilation of larger and more comprehensive data bases, particularly in the more developed regions.

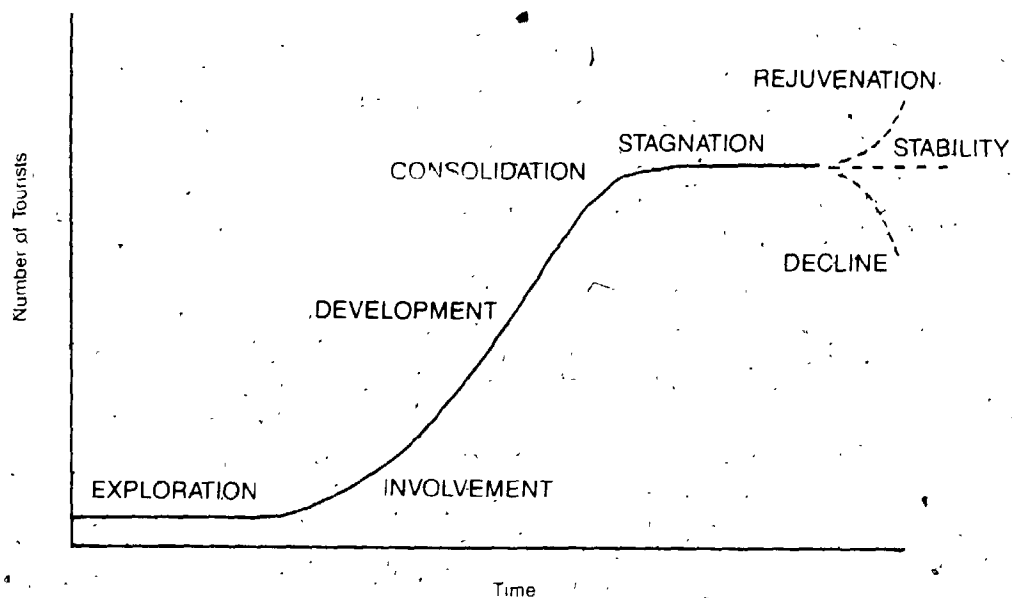
Following the earlier examples of Gilbert (1949), Pearson (1957), Fussell (1965) and Ritter (1967), researchers have continued to conduct empirical case study investigations into the nature and impact of tourism development. A partial list of peripheral areas which have received attention includes East Africa (Duma 1970), Algeria (Blake and Lawless 1972), the Highlands of Scotland (Butler 1973, 1985), the Greek island of Myconos (Loukissas 1978), Fiji (S. Britton 1980), the Mount Cook

area of New Zealand (D. Pearce 1980), Malta (B. Young 1980), Tobago (Weaver 1980), Diani Beach, Kenya (Precht 1983), the Pyrenees (Majoral and Lopez 1983), Barbados (Potter 1983) the European Alps (Barker 1982, Brugger 1984) and the Maldiv Islands (Domroes 1985). By examining locales and regions which have been significantly affected by tourism, these studies have attempted to identify local patterns of spatial development and the factors which underly them. A more conscious effort to link such studies to other empirical work is also apparent.

The fifth and most significant theme from a theoretical perspective concerns the emergence of models which attempt to reveal the general spatial and temporal order underlying tourism development. In patterning this process after the product cycle logistics curve (commonly referred to as the S curve), Butler (1980) has applied a graphic conceptual framework (see figure 1.6) to the resort cycle concept described earlier by Brown (1935) and Christaller (1964). Lundgren (1984, 22) states that "Butler put into the realistic cyclical context a reality that everyone knew about, and clearly recognized, but never had formulated into an overall theory." Five stages in the initial cycle are proposed, beginning with an incipient pre-tourism or "exploration" era characterized by infrequent pioneering tourist activity. A period of local response or "involvement", during which local

Figure 1.6

**BUTLER'S HYPOTHETICAL EVOLUTION
OF A TOURIST DESTINATION AREA**



Source: Butler 1980, 7

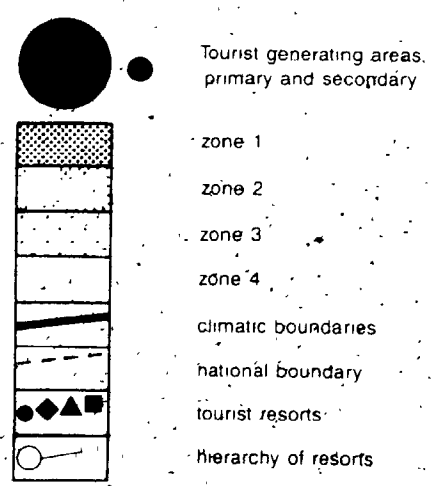
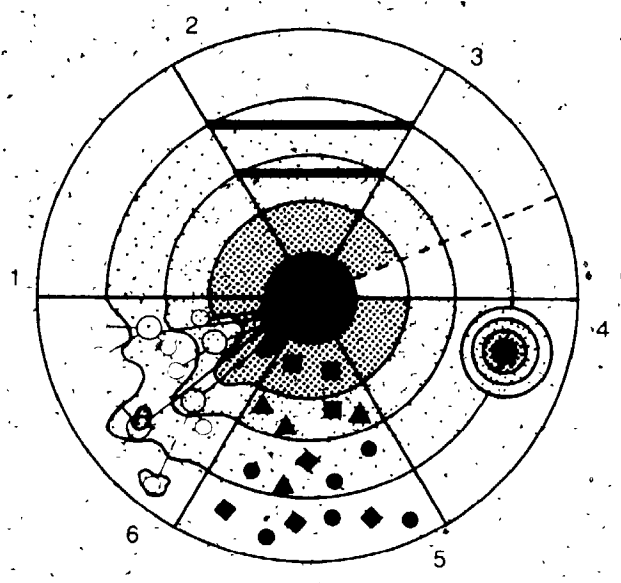
initiatives are taken to attract tourists, soon leads to a "development" stage in which large visitor increases occur over a relatively short period of time. Most of the destinations depicted in figure 1.5 are currently experiencing this stage. Eventually, this growth abates during a "consolidation" phase, after which arrivals stabilize ("stagnation") as the destination begins to experience the diseconomies of scale associated with oversaturation. Depending upon local response and various external factors, several scenarios are then possible, including decline, continued stability, or rejuvenation.

Although additional empirical testing on rates of transition, stage designations and characteristics, and underlying factors is necessary, existing growth curves for a variety of destinations appear to confirm the basic validity of the S-curve concept. As for the specific stages proposed by Butler, Meyer-Arendt (1985) has found that the sequence accurately describes the development of Grand Isle, Louisiana, while Hovinen (1981), in contrast, questions its applicability to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The present study will explore the applicability of Butler's stages to the Antiguan case study, and recognizing the temporal nature of his model, will investigate the spatial and structural characteristics associated with the curve.

A nontemporal model of tourist space proposed by Miossec (1976) uses diffusion theory to identify four

Figure 1.7

THE MIOSSEC MODEL OF TOURISM SPACE, (L'espace touristique theorique)



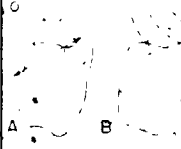
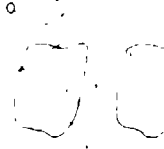
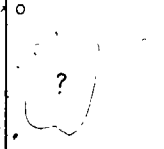
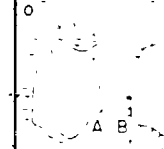

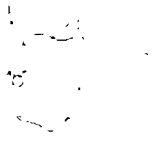

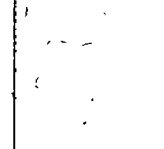
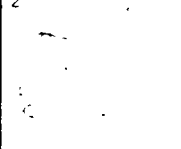


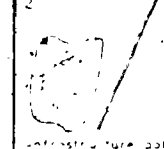
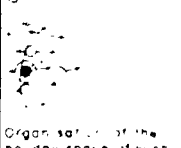
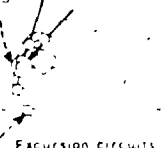

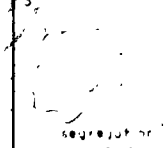
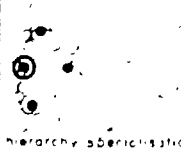


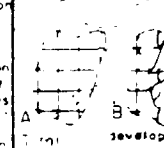
Source Miossec 1977

concentric rings of intensity surrounding a "generating core" of recreational demand (see figure 1.7). The ideal pattern (sector 1) is distorted by "real-life" variables which include climate (sector 2), political boundaries (sector 3), the existence of secondary cores of demand (sector 4), and the quality and quantity of information available to the market regarding the range of recreational opportunity (sector 5). The distorted pattern which results is depicted in sector 6. According to D. Pearce (1979, 260), the Miossec model provides a "very useful synthesis" for understanding the spatial dynamics of tourism. However, the Miossec model appears to operate at a large scale, and does not address the structure of individual destinations. Similarly, Yokeno (in Nichols 1982, 80-82) has applied the concepts of Von Thunen and Weber to the tourist industry in his model, which also contends that tourist traffic will decrease in concentric fashion away from the generating core. Distortions similar to those of Miossec are envisaged, while the influence of price levels are also included.

Miossec (1976) has also contributed a model of spatial and temporal tourism development within the destinations themselves, although the scale of analysis is unclear (see figure 1.8). In this complex and occasionally confusing framework, the expansion of tourist arrivals leads to the creation of resort and transportation hierarchies. Increased development results

Figure 1.8

MIOSSEC'S SYNTHESIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF TOURISM SPACE

Resorts	Transit	Tourist Behaviour	Attitudes of Decision Makers and Population of Receiving Region
phases	phases	phases	phases
0	0	0	0
 territory traversed distant	 transit isolation	 lack of interest and knowledge	 mirage refusal
1	1	1	1
 pioneer resort	 opening up	 global perception	 observation
2	2	2	2
 multiplication of resorts	 increase of transport links between resorts	 progress in perception of places and itineraries	 infrastructure policy servicing of resorts
3	3	3	3
 Organisation of the holiday space, search for a hierarchy and specialisation	 Excursion circuits	 Spatial competition and segregation	 segregation demonstration effects dualism
4	4	4	4
 hierarchy specialisation saturation	 increasing complexity of transport links	 Disintegration of perceived space complete homogenisation departure of certain types of tourists Forms of substitution saturation and crisis	 development plan ecological integrated resorts

Source Pearce 1979

in the modification of tourist behaviour as more knowledge is acquired regarding the region's possibilities, while changes in local attitude lead to responsive strategies such as segregation, infrastructural improvements and planning controls. Mathieson and Wall (1982, 118-19) propose a model of seaside resort development where hotels and other "frontal amenities" along the coast give way to boarding houses and "bed and breakfast" facilities in less favourable locations. This model clearly operates at the small scale level of the individual urban resorts. In divergent ways, the above qualitative models attempt to reduce spatial process to its essence, while seeking to provide "a valuable framework upon which further empirical and conceptual work might be based" (Nichols 1982, 83). The paucity and simplicity of such models lends credence to the contention that the development of theory in the geography of tourism is still very much at the "ground level".

The recent large scale intrusion of mass tourism into the Third World has not resulted in the application of the above models to these destinations. Worse still, no significant models of tourism development have emerged as the specific result of Third World empirical investigations. The present study attempts to alleviate this situation by proposing a model which combines at the level of individual destinations the temporal and spatial aspects of tourism development.

Summary

Certain aspects of tourism and its relationship with geography have been considered in this introductory chapter. In the first instance, the conceptual ambiguities surrounding the nature of tourism demonstrate the need for operational definitions, such as those provided by the World Tourism Organization. While it is recognized that tourism is not strictly a modern phenomenon, post World War Two trends suggest an era of unprecedented growth, which has resulted in the appearance of large scale recreational landscapes and regions. Much of this growth has occurred at the peripheral fringes of the developed world, where a "pleasure periphery" is rapidly taking form, encompassing many parts of the Third World and other economically transitional areas. In belated reaction to the growth of tourism, geographers since 1970 have substantially increased their research output to address the phenomenon, thereby compensating to some extent for their previous emphasis upon purely descriptive and idiosyncratic studies. Recent developments with relevance to the Third World include the emergence of critical and "middle ground" perspectives, the increased use of quantitative techniques, and the widespread undertaking of empirical investigations. Even

more indicative of a growing maturity in the subdiscipline is the appearance of models and paradigms which attempt to provide structural frameworks for the comprehension and analysis of tourism space. Despite these indications of progress, little attention has so far been paid from a theoretical perspective to the evolution and form of tourism space in the Third World, which existing models do not adequately address. The proposed primary research objective represents a starting point which emphasizes the construction of a conceptual model describing the evolution of Third World, and in particular, Caribbean tourism environments.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTION OF ANTIGUA

Several factors underly the selection of Antigua as a case study for the investigation of heliotropic tourism landscapes. Among these are the island's status as an underdeveloped Caribbean entity, its representation of a region in the "pleasure periphery" where the impact of tourism has been particularly strong, and a recent history of rapid visitor growth accompanied by fundamental structural changes in its economy. Scale, insularity and other characteristics will also be considered as factors in the selection, while a physical and cultural description of Antigua is provided as the context for subsequent tourism related investigations.

2.1 Spatial Context

2.1.1 Antigua in the Third World

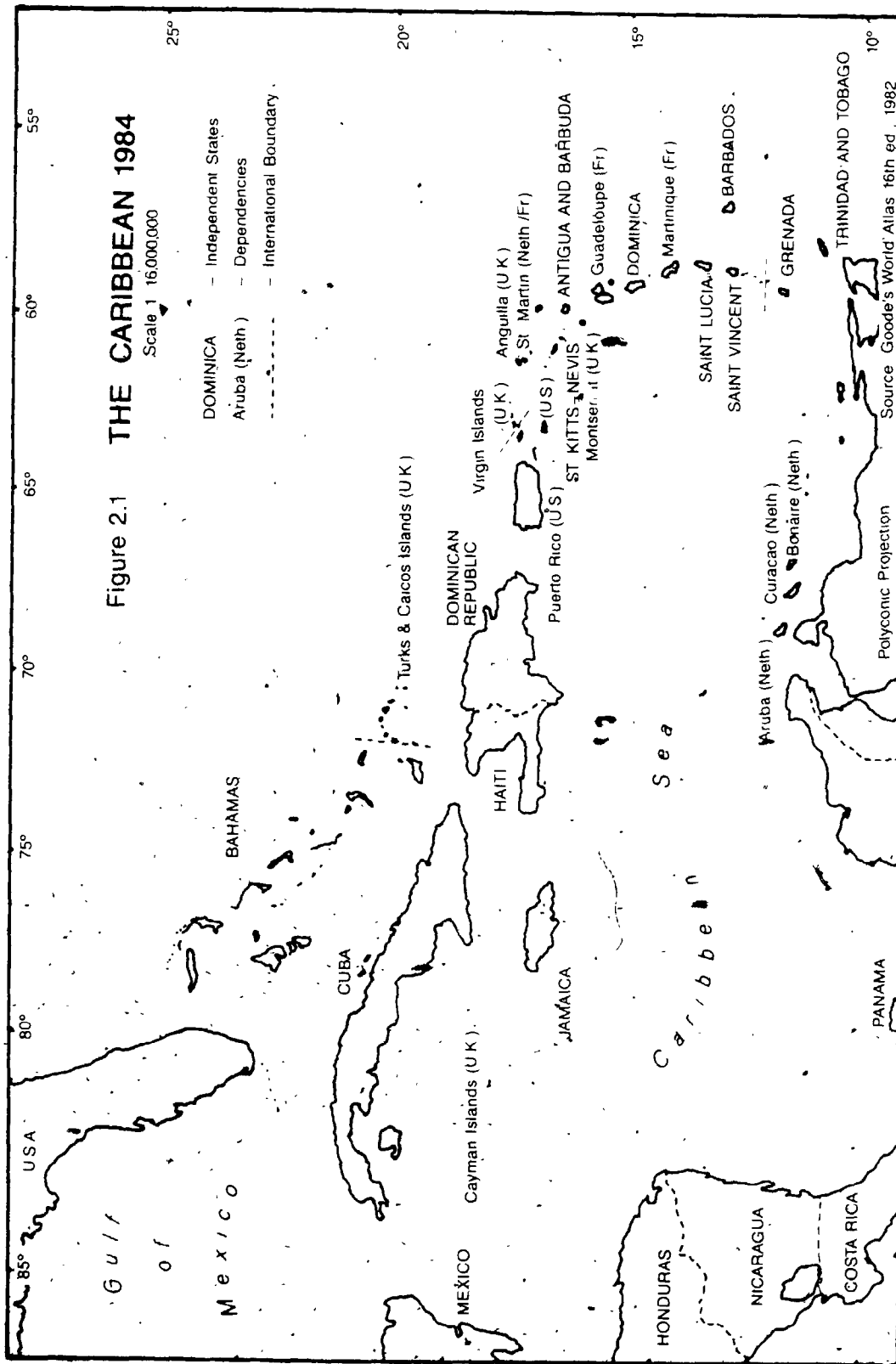
On the basis of certain widely accepted economic and social criteria (outlined in deSouza and Porter 1974, 15):

Antigua, like most of the Caribbean, may be characterized as an underdeveloped Third World state. For example, the island's 1981 per capita income of US\$ 1,411 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 8) approximates the "less developed" national average of US\$ 940 (excluding China), in contrast to the "more developed" 1982 national average of US\$ 9,190 (Population Reference Bureau 1984). Another feature typical of Third World states is the high unemployment rate of 47% (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin Oct. '76, 34) which represents the officially unemployed population augmented by a large number of "hidden" unemployed and underemployed individuals (Will 1982, 202). Socially, Antigua is characterized by a youthful population, 30.6% of which are under the age of fifteen (Population Reference Bureau 1984). The underdeveloped status of Antigua is moderated to some extent by demographic indications of higher development. These include an adult literacy rate of 96% (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 29), relatively low infant mortality (31.5 per thousand), low birth rates (16 births per thousand population), and an average life expectancy of 66 years (Population Reference Bureau 1984). In addition, a high degree of internal spatial integration is reflected in the well developed road network (United Kingdom 1973; see also figure 2.5).

2.1.2 The Caribbean Context: Plantation Systems

Demas (1965), Mintz (1971), and Holder (1979), among others, emphasize the existence of a distinctly Caribbean pattern of underdevelopment. A brief discussion of this context is necessary in order to understand the development and status of tourism within the region, which is represented by Antigua. Initially, the region is defined to incorporate all islands within the Caribbean Sea, except for those belonging directly to the Latin speaking mainland (see figure 2.1). The Bahamas and Bermuda are included, recognizing their geographical proximity to the Caribbean and the sharing of many physical and cultural characteristics. Although the adjacent coastlines of Central and South America are also similar in some respects to the Caribbean archipelago, these mainland areas are excluded due to the absence of data at the subnational level. The region thus defined encompasses a land area of 237,000 km² with a population of approximately twenty-five million, distributed among twenty-four political entities. However, three of these entities (Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic) together account for 87.5% of the land area and 80% of the population (see appendix 1).

The origins of Antiguan and Caribbean underdevelopment are rooted in the region's geography and



history. Lowenthal (1973, 60) characterizes the Caribbean as an exceptionally fragmented and essentially heterogeneous region where the isolated political and economic development of individual islands has resulted in a proliferation of independent microstates since 1960. Most of the units are relatively small in area and population, with limited natural resources and economic potential. The limitations of scale have contributed to chronic trade deficits, as most essential goods must be imported. Representing a typical Caribbean economy, Antiguan exports (including re-exports) were valued at US\$33.6 million in 1981, compared to imported goods valued at US\$139.3 million (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, Tables 16 and 17).

As one of the first areas to be opened for exploitation during the era of imperial European expansion, the individual islands have evolved as subtropical adjuncts or "microcosms affected by a temporal sequence of European decisions" (Richardson 1976, 551). According to Mintz (1971, 23):

the European experience on the islands was in fact that of creating a world without men soon after original contact. This scourging of the human landscape enabled the Europeans to set the terms of their future colonialism in the Caribbean area in ways very different from those available to them in the densely occupied areas of the non-western world.

The landscapes of the Caribbean since the early 1600's may

therefore be interpreted as the products of external intervention. and no discussion of underdevelopment in the region can occur without reference to the links with the metropolitan powers. Following the initial unsuccessful attempts by the British to establish a white yeomanry in the Caribbean, the more familiar pattern of colonization ensued, entailing the importation of captive labour and the establishment of specialized plantations in order to produce monocultural crops for export to the metropolitan country. Beckford (1972,8) describes this pattern of settlement and integration as a "colony of exploitation". Efforts to establish a white peasantry, or "colony of settlement" (Beckford 1972,8) were far more successful in the Spanish possessions, where the plantation phenomenon was largely confined to the coast. The estate or plantation economy came to pervade the entire economic and social structure of most British and French possessions in the Caribbean, giving rise to an all-encompassing way of life which Beckford (1972) refers to as the "plantation system". Spatial integration in the plantation dominated islands occurred as the land was tied into a hierarchical system of production which facilitated the movement of specialized crops from the estates to the ports. Structural imbalances which emerged as a consequence of the undiversified plantation system included the juxtaposition of large estates with the numerous smallholdings of the peasantry. Socially, dualism is made

evident in the discrepancy between a small white or mixed race land-holding elite and the significantly less affluent and largely rural black or Indian working class.

Demas (1965) has employed the term "dualistic" to describe the mode of underdevelopment which persists within the British speaking Caribbean as a result of the plantation system. Furthermore, a dependency syndrome has been engendered as strong economic and cultural links have been retained with a small number of metropolitan countries, to the detriment of increased regional interaction (Demas 1965. 116-17). The Caribbean states remain economically, socially, culturally and technologically dependent upon the metropolitan powers, despite the recent trend towards political autonomy. Certain entities, including Anguilla, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat and the Turks and Caicos Islands have elected to maintain their formal dependency status. Dualistic social and economic structures are not confined to the Caribbean, and have appeared in other areas where plantation economies have been implemented (for example Mauritius, Seychelles and Liberia), as well as in some non-plantation regions. However, the persistence and pervasiveness of dualism in the Caribbean attests to the strength of the plantation system in that region.

2.1.3 The Growth of Caribbean Tourism

Against the above background, the establishment of tourist industries in the Caribbean and other plantation societies may be interpreted as a logical extension of historical heartland-hinterland relationships. As the demand for traditional Caribbean products such as sugar and other monocultural export crops has declined, the new demands by "post industrial" society for leisure space have affected the region (the structuralists would argue that these demands have been imposed), given its overall appropriateness for accommodating heliotropic forms of tourism. Moreover, because of important structural similarities, the tourist industry has been conveniently accommodated within the existing plantation systems of the region. Commonalities noted by Harrigan (1974, 20) and Hills and Lundgren (1977) include the dominant role of expatriate investment capital, ownership and management, the need for a high nonskilled local labour content, the reliance upon a restricted market, and the status of each activity as a response to external rather than local needs. Thus, the physical transformations which have been associated with tourism are seen by the structuralists as being superficial, entailing no essential structural change. With these similarities in mind, the spatial correlation between the pleasure periphery (see figure

1.1) and the region where the plantation system is dominant (Beckford 1972) should be noted.

The origins of modern Caribbean tourism have been traced to the mid-nineteenth century, when the first resort hotels were opened in the more accessible destinations. The Royal Victoria hotel was established in the Bahamas during the American Civil War (1862) to serve Confederate and British blockade runners. By 1873, approximately five hundred travellers were visiting the Bahamas annually (O'Reilly 1983, 26). Taylor (1973) dates the origin of modern Jamaican tourism to 1891, when the "Hotels Law" was passed in order to provide accommodation for visitors to the 1891 Jamaica International Exhibition (O'Reilly 1983, 26). Between 1919 and 1938, total Caribbean stayover arrivals, 90% of whom originated in the United States of America, increased from 45,100 to 189,600, while cruise visitors grew from 3,300 to 88,700 (Anglo-American Caribbean Commission 1945, 109). By the end of World War II, tourism had reached significant proportions in several colonies, with Jamaica, Bermuda and the Bahamas respectively recording 68,628, 61,863, and 37,578 in 1949 (Times of London Mar.28 '50, 5C). The concurrent development of Cuba as a major tourist destination was attributable in part to the early establishment of air links with the United States. The inauguration of service between Key West and Havana in 1927 (McIntosh and Goeldner 1984, 24) represented the

world's first scheduled international route. Despite the imposition of travel restrictions during World War Two, 46,195 "stopovers" arrived in Havana during 1941 (Anglo-American Caribbean Commission 1945, 43).

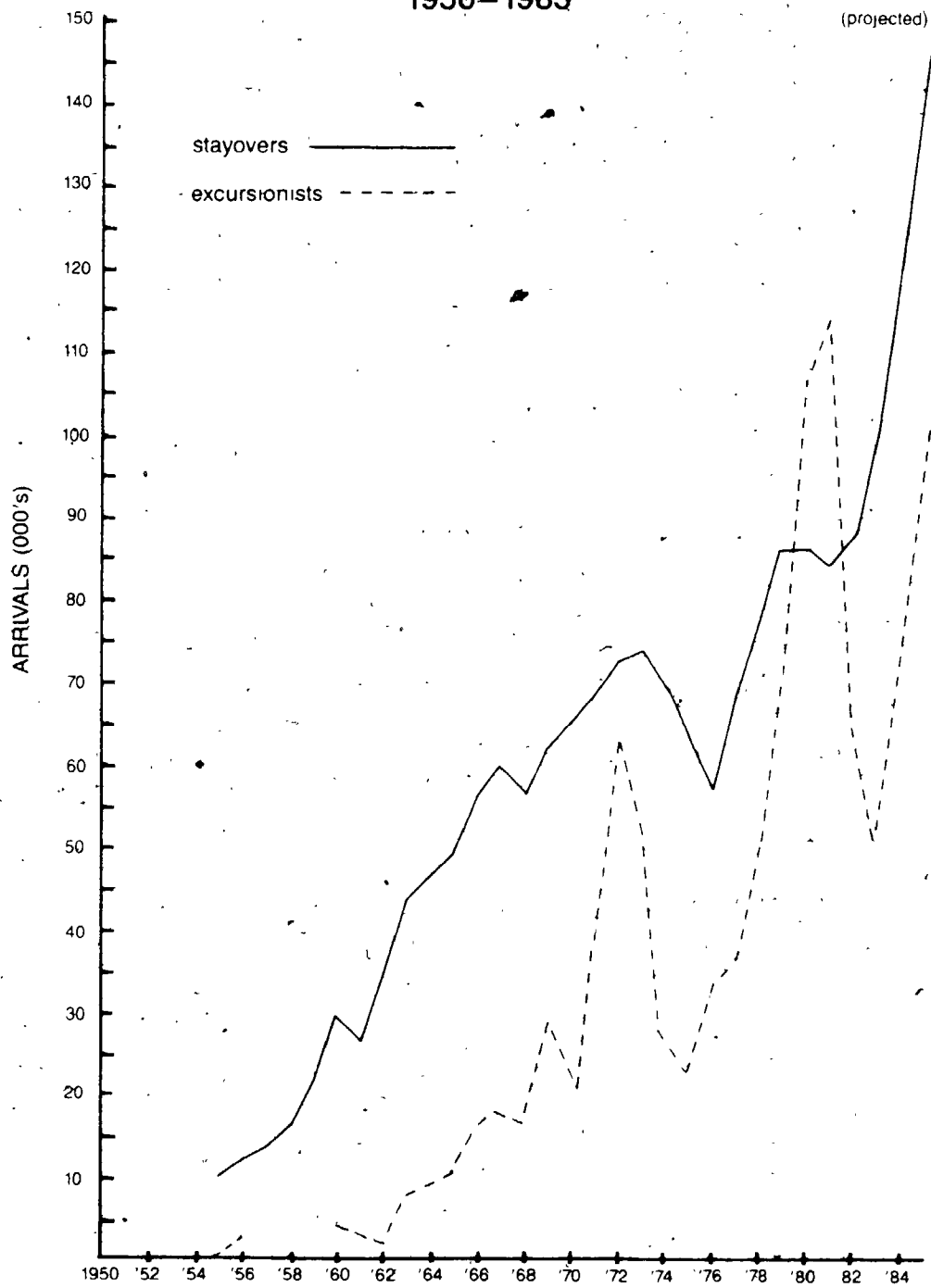
Reflecting global trends, the Caribbean experienced major tourism growth during the 1950's and 1960's, with the total number of stopovers increasing from approximately 500,000 in 1950 to 4,240,000 in 1970 (including Costa Rica and Venezuela, but excluding Cuba). A further increase to 6,940,000 was recorded by 1978, despite the detrimental impact of the mid-decade "oil crisis". In 1984, 7,760,000 stopovers and 3,720,000 cruise ship excursionists arrived in the region (CTRC 1985, 7). The Caribbean presently accounts for approximately 2.5% of total international tourist arrivals, although this portion is not equally distributed among the islands. On one extreme, the Bahamas consistently attract over one million stopovers annually, and tourism directly and indirectly accounts for at least 70% of the gross national product (Ramsaran 1979, 77-78). In contrast, Dominica recorded only 22,000 stopover arrivals in 1984, while the Turks and Caicos Islands attracted 17,000 (see appendix 1). The relative significance of these figures becomes more apparent when assessed against local populations and carrying capacities using the tourist day average and the tourist-host ratio. On a proportional basis, the Caribbean undoubtedly

constitutes the world region most affected by tourism, especially if Cuba, with its overall lack of involvement since 1960, is excluded. However, this too is beginning to change, with the pro-tourism drive of the Castro government having resulted in 100,000 stavover visits in 1984 (CTRC 1985).

2.2 The Growth of Tourism in Antigua

The pattern of tourism growth in Antigua (see figure 2.2) resembles the high growth profiles of the selected "pleasure periphery" destinations depicted in figure 1.5. Since pre-1960 statistics are conflicting and unreliable, they must be treated as indications of volume rather than definitive measures (see appendix 2). Given the complete absence of statistical data prior to 1950, a speculative estimate of one thousand per year is probably representative for the period prior to World War II, based upon an examination of freighter itineraries, airline schedules and available accommodation (Yearbook 1930, 268). Compared to the destinations cited in the previous section, Antigua was relatively late in opening to tourism development. By 1956, 11,602 stavovers visited Antigua, increasing to 43,272 in 1963, 75,502 in 1978, and approximately 140,000 by the end of 1985. Cruise ship passenger arrivals, while depicting a basically similar

Figure 2.2

**ANTIGUA: TOURIST ARRIVALS
1950-1985**

Source See Appendix 2

pattern of increase, have been subject to much greater fluctuations, in part because of the sector flexibility in selecting destinations.

By Caribbean standards, tourist arrivals to Antigua remain small in absolute numbers (see appendix 1). However, relative to the resident population, the annual tourist-host ratio (thr) of approximately 48 indicates a greater concentration of activity than Jamaica (155), though less intensity than the Bahamas (9) or the US Virgin Islands (13). In addition, tourism directly and indirectly accounts for 60% of Antigua's gross national product (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 10), compared to 3.9% (direct only) for Jamaica in 1977 (Cleverden 1979, 51). These indicators suggest that the tourist industry exerts a more significant relative impact upon the environments, societies and economies of microstates such as Antigua than upon the larger, more economically diverse states where the effects of tourism tend to be regional.

2.2.1 Factors Underlying the Growth of Tourism in Antigua: Global and Regional Scales

The growth of Antiguan tourism may be accounted for by considering three scales of analysis (global, regional, local). The latter, which will be examined following the presentation of Antiguan tourism development in chapter three.

The global scale of analysis considers the

development of a tourist market or generating core of demand, without which the evolution of any Third World tourism landscape would be seriously impaired. The opening of new peripheral areas for tourism and the further development of existing destinations such as Antigua are therefore clearly dependent upon the global tourist potential at any given time. In part, the expansion of the "pleasure periphery" resulting from the post World War II increase in demand may be seen as a process of contagious and hierarchical diffusion, since development under ideal conditions is likely to occur initially in areas adjacent to the generating core, and/or in locations possessing the most sophisticated transportation facilities. Although location itself is obviously a fixed variable which cannot be modified, individual destinations are capable of making decisions which improve their accessibility (essentially raising their position in, for example, the hierarchy of airport facilities) in order to attract a larger portion of the global tourist market (see section 4.6).

Individual destinations exert virtually no influence over the large scale economic, social and technological trends which have contributed to the changing levels of global tourist demand. Certain global scale trends and events which appear to have influenced the resort cycle of Antigua are included in figure 4.9. For example, the introduction of the "jet age" in 1958 stimulated the global

travel potential, and Antigua's subsequent response to this innovation through the improvement of its runway capacity gave rise to the first major sustained period of increasing visitor arrivals during the transition stage. Similarly, World War II delayed the evolution of most resort areas, including Antigua, although the construction of the military airbase subsequently proved beneficial for the tourist industry of Antigua by enhancing the island's status in the regional transportation hierarchy.

Certain major international events in the post war period have negatively affected the global travel market, distorting the growth curve of international tourist arrivals to Antigua. The most notable of these was the so-called "oil crisis" of 1973 with its resulting worldwide recession, the effects of which were still apparent in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Economic Intelligence Unit 1984). Individual destinations are therefore highly vulnerable to vacillations in the worldwide economy, over which they exert little or no control.

Located within a region of resort supply, Antigua has benefitted from the overall image of the Caribbean as an attractive and generally stable destination area immediately accessible to, and closely linked with the North American market. While the Caribbean is an extremely heterogeneous region in many respects, the above stereotype characterizes a public image which fails to

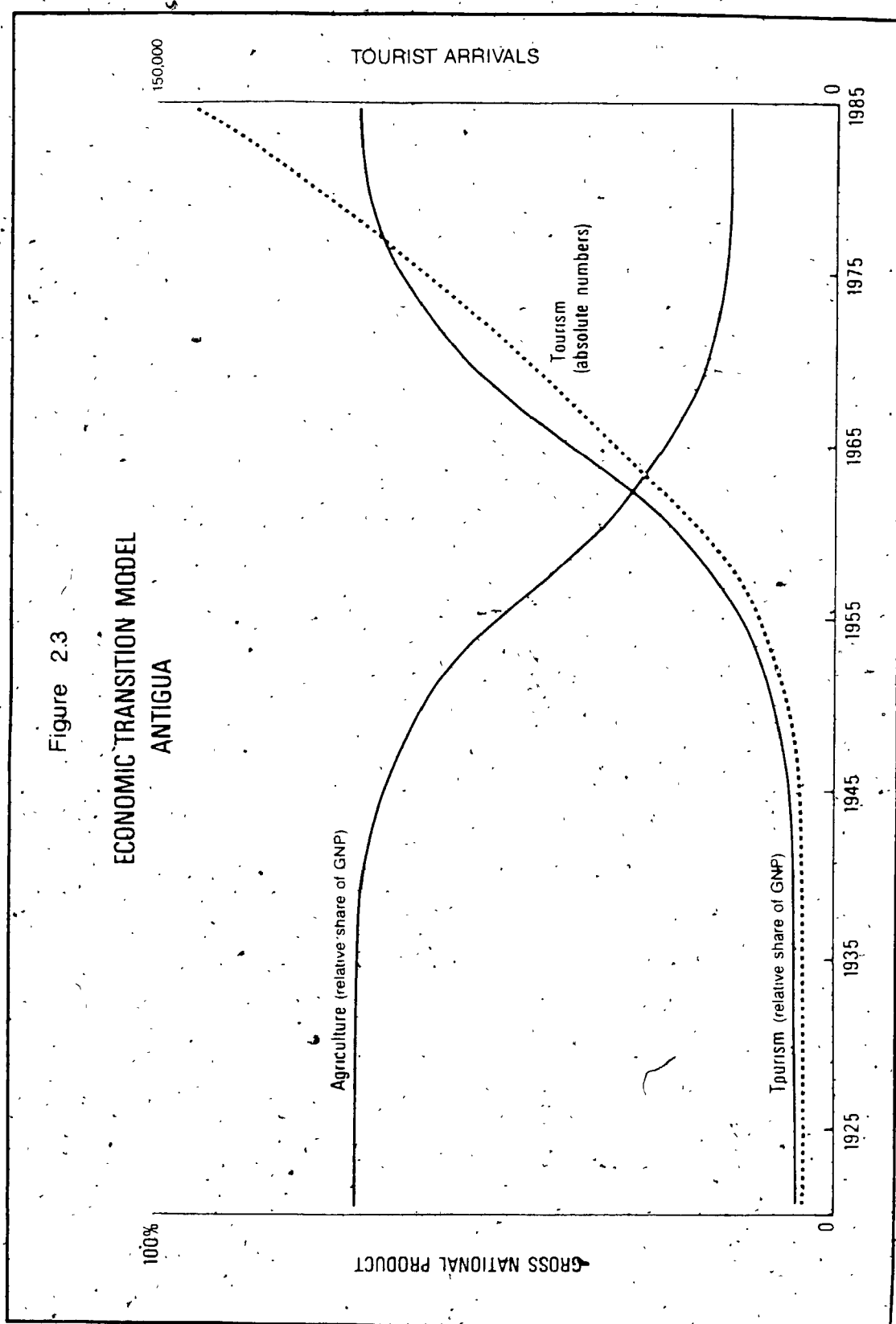
differentiate among individual destinations within the region. Highly publicized events which occur on a particular island occasionally influence the public image of the Caribbean, although the actual impact of these events upon uninvolved islands is extremely difficult to ascertain. For example, political disruptions in Cuba (1959-1962) and Grenada (1979-1983) presumably resulted in the diversion of some tourists to Antigua, but this in turn could have been offset by tourist avoidance of the region as a whole due to the image of danger and uncertainty generated by media coverage. Whether the downturn in Antiguan tourist arrivals which occurred during these periods of regional tension is actually attributable to those tensions is therefore far from certain.

Since 1940, the Caribbean tourist industry has been stimulated and promoted through the release of several well publicized reports recommending an increased role for tourism in the regional economy (see Anglo-American Commission 1945, Issa 1959, Zinder 1969). Furthermore, sustained and unified promotional and organizational efforts by the Caribbean Tourism Association (CTA), the Eastern Caribbean Tourism Association (ECTA) and other regional bodies, with Antiguan participation, have attempted to reinforce the travelling public's image of the Caribbean as an area of exceptional vacation potential. The individual destination exercises some

influence over regional variables which attract the tourist. although this control is still relatively small, particularly in regard to the localized political events which affect the regional image.

2.3 Economic Transition in Antigua

Antigua stands out as a classic example of a destination historically dominated by the plantation system described in section 2.1.2. Tourism's current dominance in the Antiguan economy stands out as a marked departure from the traditional pattern of reliance upon sugar and, to a lesser extent, sea island cotton (Augelli, 1953, 363). Appendix 3 provides data on sugar and cotton production in Antigua. The generalized historical relationship between export agriculture and tourism is depicted in figure 2.3, with each simplified curve representing the combined direct and indirect proportional contribution of that sector to the gross national product of the island. The trend curve for absolute stavover arrival growth, derived from figure 2.2, is also included. Other sectors, including the portions of government, housing, rentals and transportation unrelated to tourism, have consistently accounted for the remaining one-third of the GNP (Antigua and Barbuda 1982; Henry 1985), and are excluded from the model.



The simplicity of the transition model reflects the lack of reliable statistical information concerning the economy of Antigua. Figure 2.3 therefore represents a general impression derived from the variety of sources which are discussed below. As a further cautionary note against the acceptance of specific figures, Seward and Spinrad (1982, 134) warn that "economic data at both macro level (estimating GDP) and the micro level (in hotels and boutiques) are subject to particularly large errors in a poorly documented and researched country with limited resources like Antigua". However, the primary function of the model, which is to reveal the distinct stages of economic development attesting to the exceptional transformation occurring in the island economy between 1945 and 1975, is fulfilled. The index of "gross national product" (GNP) has been utilized as a measure since it is more frequently encountered and less ambiguous than terms such as "national income" (Zinder 1969, 50, Bryden 1973, 91), "foreign trade" (Carlozzi 1968, 30), "exports" (West Indian Yearbook 1948, 341), and "directly productive activity" (Benjamin 1981, 57), all of which have been employed in reference to the economy of Antigua.

The absolute decline of the sugar industry was noted prior to the Emancipation Act of 1834. As early as 1656, a petition for aid was sent to Cromwell from the Antiguan planters, who wrote that "many plantations have been deserted" (Batie 1976, 27). However, the relative

dominance of the sector over the economy of Antigua was not relinquished until the 1950's. Numerous sources attest to the overwhelming historical importance of sugar in Antigua (see for example Verrill 1919, 55, Yearbook of...the British West Indies 1930, 264. Crist 1954, Starkev 1961, 5. Bryden 1973, 12-13, Macpherson 1980, 114). By 1948, agricultural exports (about 90% of which consisted of sugar or sugar derived products) accounted for 90% of the island's visible trade (West Indian Yearbook 1948, 341). from which the 60% contribution to the GNP may be inferred. Other major contributors in 1953 included government (16.4%), services/hotels (9.4%) and rent of dwellings (5.3%) (Henry 1985, 130). In contrast, references to tourism in the early West Indian Yearbooks (1930-1955) are restricted to brief inventories of attractions and accommodation, with no mention of arrival numbers or earnings.

Indications of a significant post World War Two transition are noted by Richards (1982, 32), who cites the decline in agriculture's direct GNP contribution from 42.5% in 1953 to 18.2% in 1963, and by O'Loughlin (1961, 259) who attributes a direct tourism contribution of 14% in 1959. Henry (1985, 130) indicates a similar decline of agriculture from 33.3% in 1956 to 14.7% in 1964, when "services/hotels" accounted for 14.6% of the GNP. Carlozzi (1968, 30) respectively attributes shares of 37% and 39% to "sugar and related products" and tourism for

1962. evidently taking into account the indirect impacts of each sector. The early 1960's were therefore characterized by Cariozzi (1968. 30) as the "dual economy" period in which both tourism and agriculture dominated the economies of Antigua and Barbados. Further, it is not surprising that the trend curve of tourist arrivals during this period appears to coincide with Butler's "involvement" stage (see figure 1.6). The continuing decline of agriculture throughout the 1960's culminated in the termination of sugar production and the closure of the last refining facility in 1972. In contrast, the expanding tourist industry directly (20%) and indirectly (40%) accounted for about 60% of the GNP during the early 1970's, representing the proportion formerly accounted for by agriculture (Chodos 1977, 174-75). The 60% estimate for tourism persists to the present day (Antigua and Barbuda 1982. 10. discussions with Tourist Board officials. 1984). while agriculture has rebounded from a low of 6.9% in 1973 (Richards 1982. 32) to 13.8% in 1981 (including forestry and fisheries), when sugar production was resumed on a modest scale in order to fulfill local requirements (Antigua and Barbuda 1982. 39 and 14). However, as sugar and other field crops together account for only 2% of Antigua's current GNP (Seward and Spinrad, 1982. 132), the agricultural sector has evidently become more diverse, a trend confirmed by field investigation.

Internal and external factors independent of the

tourist industry are crucial in accounting for the demise of the sugar industry. Persistent drought conditions and soils vulnerable to erosion when disturbed have contributed to the marginality of sugar production throughout a large portion of Antigua. In addition, chronic labour shortages (despite chronic underemployment) have been attributed to relatively low wages and the existence of a psychological stigma which associates sugar related labour with slavery (O'Loughlin 1961. I. Smith 1976. 137). The demand for cane sugar in the metropolitan market was also detrimentally influenced by the development of a European beet sugar industry which benefited from reduced production and transportation costs, and protective tariffs. The need to maintain competitive economies of scale has now resulted in the consolidation of the British Caribbean sugar industry to a select group of producers, including Barbados, Trinidad, St. Kitt's and Guyana. In contrast, commercial production no longer occurs on the traditional sugar islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago and Antigua (Chernick 1978. 134). Despite these independent variables, significant links between tourism and the decline of agriculture on Antigua and other areas cannot be ignored, given the similarities between tourism and plantation systems. These links in the Antiguan context will be revealed in chapter three, since the existence of a significant relationship would suggest the need to

incorporate the abandoned farmlands and other effects of the sugar decline into the recreational landscape as indirect consequences of the tourist industry.

2.4 Scale and Other Factors

The selection of a small scale case study such as Antigua is appropriate for several reasons. Hartshorne (1939, 632) cites the utility of a limited spatial investigation for understanding the nature of larger areas:

The student who presents a study of a small area of no special importance in itself, needs to keep in mind that the purpose is not to present the area in itself, but to provide an accurate illustration of the representative character of a larger region, too large to permit of such intensive study. So long as he keeps this broader purpose in mind, there are no grounds apparent on which we can prescribe the minimum size of area that may be studied.

The study of a small scale entity such as Antigua therefore contributes to an understanding of similar Third World tourist destinations. As well, the small size is conducive to intensive personal investigation and the compilation of a detailed history. Secondly, the impacts of tourism are most acute in the microstates because of their limited diversity and scale. The choice of an island case study (as opposed to mainland coast) is advantageous

due to the lack of ambiguity regarding the boundaries of the study area, which delimit a specific destination within the international tourism network. However, this does not imply that the model is inapplicable to mainland coasts, or to regions within larger islands, such as the Montego Bay area of Jamaica. The domestic tourist sector of Antigua is assumed to be negligible, thereby allowing for the identification of mutually exclusive "tourist" and "local" categories of individuals. Furthermore, with the economy of Antigua being characterized by the World Bank (1979:5) as laissez-faire, the development of tourism has occurred under conditions of minimal government interference, unlike the centrally planned economies of the Socialist states.

Antigua, like most Caribbean destinations, continues to encourage the large scale growth of tourism despite increased concern over policies of unrestricted expansion. The current government is attempting to maintain an annual increase of ten percent in visitor arrivals through the late 1980's (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11). This policy is proceeding despite the rudimentary state of knowledge as to the long term implications of unrestricted tourism growth for an island of limited carrying capacity. In particular, very few studies on the tourist industry of Antigua have been undertaken from an academic perspective, although several market oriented reports have been produced under the auspices of the Antiguan government.

the World Bank and the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (see chapter 3). Passing geographic references to Antiguan tourism are found in several standard texts dealing with the Caribbean region (Blume 1968, Slater 1968, Macpherson 1980). Earlier studies emphasizing Antigua (see Starkey 1961, Campbell and Edwards 1965) have tended to concentrate on the island's agricultural geography, while Bryden (1973), Pollard (1976) and Henry (1985) have been concerned mainly with the economic impacts of tourism. No attempt has been made in any of the above works to analyse the spatial characteristics of the industry. Historical landscape changes in Antigua were described by Augelli (1953) and Crist (1954), but tourism was not considered by either author to be a significant factor at that time.

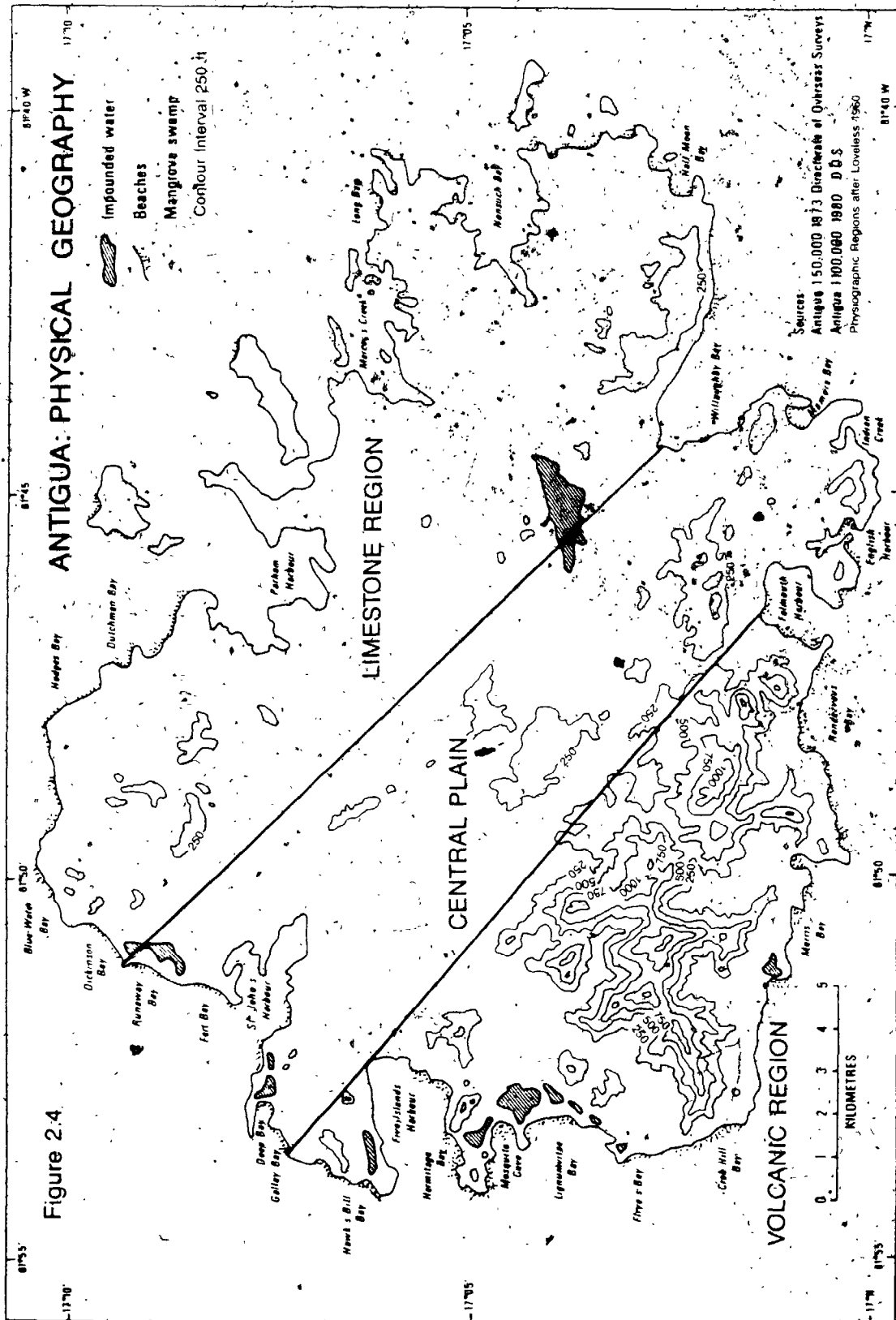
2.5 A Description of Antigua

The physical and cultural landscape structure of Antigua accounts in large part for the island's spatial pattern of tourism development. The following physical information is derived from Loveless (1960) and the West Indian and Caribbean Yearbook (1977), unless otherwise indicated. In brief, the island of Antigua is situated at latitude 17° 09' N and longitude 61° 49' W (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 2) within the northern or "Leeward Island"

tier of the Lesser Antilles (see figure 2.1). The surface of the island is generally low and dry, occupying 272 km² (108 square miles) with an indented coastline of 96.6 km (60.2 miles). The resident population of approximately 75,000 is predominantly Negro in descent, with small mixed race and Caucasian minorities. The population density is 275 per km² (700 per square mile). The political state incorporates the nearby islands of Barbuda (62 square mile, population 1,200) and Redonda (one square mile, uninhabited), neither of which is included in the present study..

2.5.1 Geology and Relief

Antigua is divided into three main geological regions (see figure 2.4). The volcanic zone covers the southwestern portion of the island and consists of rugged low mountains with steep exposed slopes intersected by small alluvial valleys and bounded by a narrow coastal lowland belt. The island's maximum elevation of 405.1 meters (1,319') is reached in this zone at Boggy Peak, while numerous peaks achieve a height of three hundred meters or more. Geologically, this area is related to the neighbouring volcanic islands of the Antillean arc, which extends from St. Kitt's and Saba to St. Vincent and Grenada. There is no indication of volcanic activity on Antigua in the present era.



Limestone uplands occur in the north, where the gently undulating terrain is occasionally interrupted by steep, badly eroded hills rising to a height of one hundred meters. These hills are separated by small valleys, and a low broken escarpment marks the region's southern perimeter. This sedimentary zone is geologically related to the adjacent north-eastern coral outliers of the Lesser Antilles, which include Anguilla, Barbuda, St. Barthelemy, St. Martin, and Eastern Guadeloupe. The third region of Antigua consists of a low clay plain separating the first two zones. The bedrock here comprises various sedimentary rock types, and elevation exceeds 150 meters only in the area to the north of Falmouth Harbour.)

The indented coastline of Antigua contains approximately one hundred well developed beaches, the majority consisting of coral derived white sand. Steep slopes or mangrove swamp characterize the remaining littoral areas (United Kingdom 1:50,000, 1980). Several excellent natural harbours are present, including English and Falmouth Harbours, and most of the coast is protected by offshore reefs and shoals which present some hazard to navigation. Numerous islets occur off the northern and eastern coasts, ranging in size from Guiana (.8 km²) and Lono (.5 km²) Islands to the innumerable exposed tips of the offshore reef. Antigua possesses a modest mineral resource base, which includes deposits of clay, limestone, building stone and barytes (Antigua and Barbuda 1982: 19).

2.5.2 Climate and Hydrology

The following data were collected at the St. John's botanical gardens meteorological station (elevation 36.6 meters) and reflect the recorded history of climate in Antigua before 1960. Temperatures are representative of the entire island, since internal variations probably do not exceed 3.0°C because of scale and the absence of severe differences in altitude. Antigua falls within the subtropical climatic zone with a mean annual temperature of 27.8°C (82°F). The highest mean monthly temperatures occur in August (29°C or 84°F) and the lowest in January (26.1°C or 79°F). Diurnal variations are more pronounced, with a range of 6.7°C (12°F) between shaded day sites and the night time. Extreme temperatures rarely exceed 31°C (88°F) or fall below 21°C (70°F) because of the moderating effect of the prevalent north-east trade winds, other oceanic influences and the generally low elevations. Relative humidities, which are also tempered as a result of these influences, range from 70% during the March dry season peak to 80% in November. Antigua averages 3,008 hours of sunshine per year (Jonnard 1974, 97).

Extreme variations in precipitation occur both temporally and spatially, although unlike temperature, rainfall patterns cannot be reliably anticipated. An annual mean rainfall of 109.9 cm (43.3 inches) was

measured at St. John's between 1874 and 1949, with extremes ranging from 64.8 cm (25.5 inches) in 1930 to 186.9 cm (73.6 inches) in 1889. Furthermore, this rainfall is unevenly distributed throughout the year. A distinct rainy season usually occurs between August and November, during which approximately fifty percent of the annual precipitation falls. Severe storms are liable to pass through during this period, and a moderate hurricane risk exists. In 1928, 20 cm (8 inches), representing one-quarter of the year's rainfall, fell over a two day period, producing severe flash flooding and slope erosion. In "normal" years, about one-fifth of the total precipitation occurs during a dry season which usually extends from January to April. Antigua is therefore susceptible to recurrent and occasionally severe drought conditions. These can persist for up to nine months in the northeast, where a semidesert environment has evolved as a result of continual exposure to the drying effect of the trade winds.

No permanent waterways are found on Antigua due to the seasonality of precipitation. Several watercourses known locally as "ghauts" function only during the rainy season or following severe rains. Bendal's River in western Antigua is the only waterway which is sometimes described as semipermanent. Modest reserves of groundwater are found in the limestone areas, and a number of small natural ponds and man-made reservoirs are

dispersed throughout the island, helping to alleviate the chronic water shortages. However, all surface water sources are susceptible to maximum depletion under severe drought conditions. During field investigations in May 1984, the Potswort Dam Reservoir, Antigua's largest impounded water supply, was found to be completely dry as a result of prolonged drought conditions.

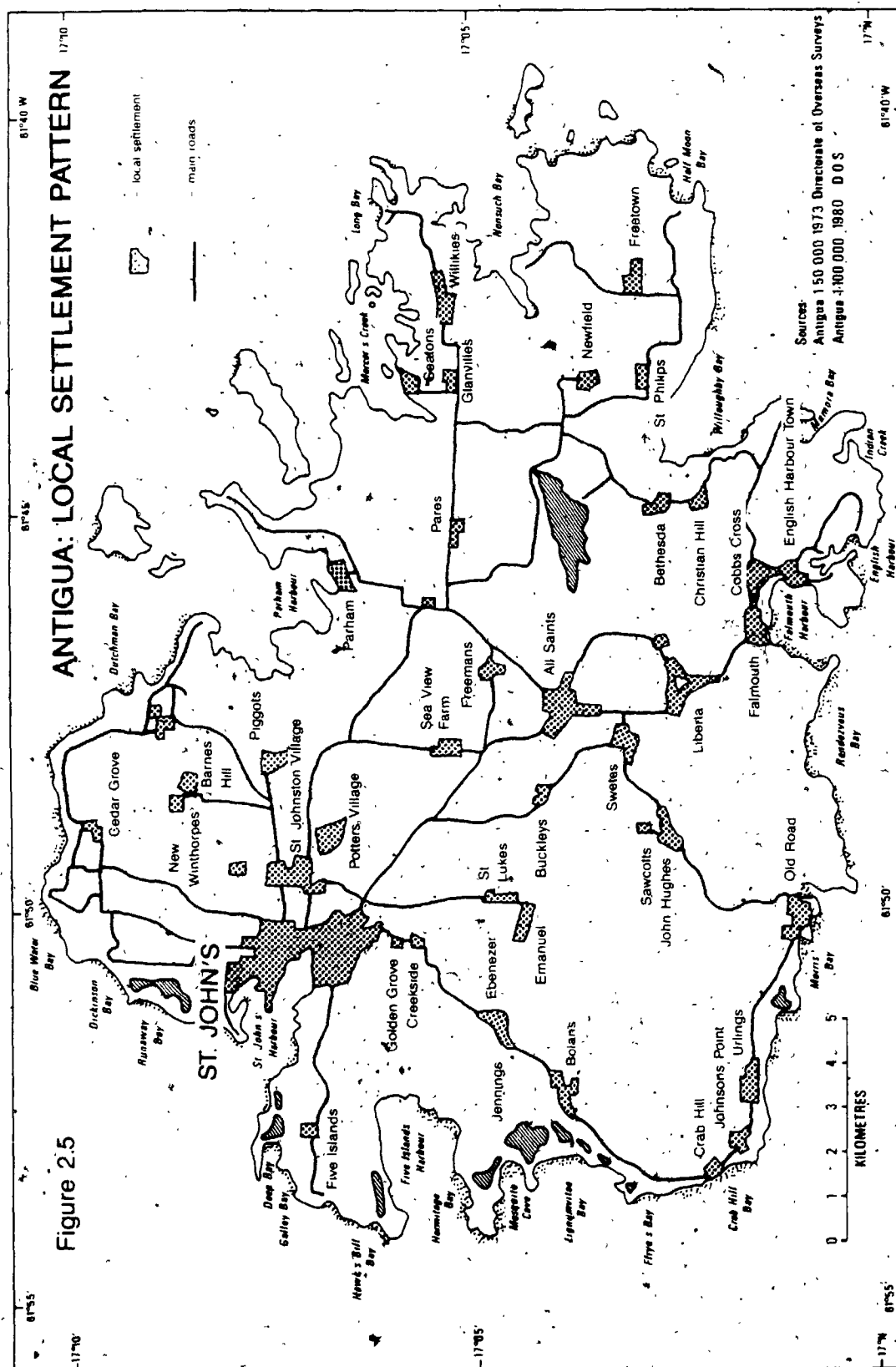
2.5.3 Vegetation

The original vegetation cover of Antigua is believed to have consisted of an open xerophytic forest characterized by a low species diversity. The near desert communities of the east are thought to approximate the indigenous cover of that area, while near rain forest conditions with closed canopies were once found in certain moist valleys of the hilly south-west. The impact of the original Amerindian population upon the vegetation cover is largely unknown, although the almost complete removal of the indigenous cover soon after the first European settlement is well documented, as in the other Leeward islands where sugarcane cultivation was introduced (Merrill 1958, Harris 1965). At one time or another, the cultivation of sugar was extended to the more physically marginal areas of the island, although most of this has since been abandoned, reverting to a degenerated second or third growth woodland (Macpherson 1980, 114). Forest.

woodland and "non-agricultural" areas, which accounted for over sixty percent of Antigua's land mass in 1973 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 13), consisted mainly of unproductive deciduous scrub associations dominated by acacia, cactus, and other drought tolerant species. Despite the introduction of exotics, the low diversity of species persists. Remnant mangrove swamps occur in certain coastal areas, but these have been subject to widespread clearance and degradation.

2.5.4 Settlement

Antigua was first settled in 1632 by the English (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 2), who unsuccessfully attempted to establish a "yeoman" system of small scale farmers. The latter was quickly supplanted by a more lucrative sugar based plantation economy implemented in order to suit changing metropolitan requirements. The establishment of regional naval facilities at English Harbour during the early 1700's consolidated the island's position as a strategic military base. With the general nineteenth century decline of sugar production throughout the Caribbean and the closure of the naval base in 1899 (Macpherson 1980, 115), "...these tiny crumbs of the great colonial scheme rapidly slipped into political and economic doldrums" (Carozzi 1968, 15). It was not until World War II that the region was once again perceived by



the metropolitan countries to possess strategic significance.

The basic settlement pattern of Antigua has persisted from the early plantation and post-Emancipation periods (see figure 2.5). Most of the population resides in an evenly dispersed network of villages, each numbering between 500 and 3,000 residents. With few exceptions, these settlements grew around plantation slavequarters or freehold areas in the interior, and there has been little traditional economic or cultural orientation to the sea. Approximately one-third of the the population resides in and around St. John's, which functions as the primary administrative, commercial, service and trade centre of Antigua. No other settlement can claim urban status, although centrally located All Saints, with three thousand residents, ranks as the largest village and major service centre of the interior.

In 1950, private estate lands accounted for 46% of the land mass, while Crown lands comprised an additional twenty percent, confined mainly to the more marginal areas. The remaining area consisted of small landholdings, either rented or owned outright, derived from fragmented estate and crown lands (Augelli 1953). This basic pattern has persisted to the present day, although the Antiguan government has continued to follow a policy of acquiring defunct estates in order to redistribute additional lands to small farmers. Finally,

Antigua is characterized by a well developed road network whose basic pattern was established during the initial period of settlement (see figure 2.5). This advanced spatial integration is interrupted only in the mountainous south-west.

Summary

Antigua is in many respects representative of a small scale "pleasure periphery" destination, and is therefore suitable for the investigation of certain types of Third World tourism landscapes. While various economic and social characteristics identify the island as an underdeveloped entity, distinct attributes of underdevelopment associated with the plantation system in the Caribbean are also evident. Like the Caribbean region in general, Antigua has recently experienced a high rate of tourism growth which assumes significance when compared with the total population and land area of the microstate. Furthermore, Antigua has undergone a transformation from a predominantly agricultural economy to one dominated by tourism, implying major changes in the landscape as a consequence. The particular advantages of an insular small scale analysis include the existence of clear case study boundaries, the feasibility of detailed landscape analysis, and the elimination of domestic tourism as a significant intervening factor. Like most other Third

World locations. virtually no academic research has seriously addressed the spatial impact of tourism on Antigua. despite the growth of the activity. Finally. the geomorphological and climatic characteristics of the island indicate an area which is highly suitable for the establishment of a heliotropically oriented tourist industry.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVOLUTION OF TOURISM IN ANTIGUA

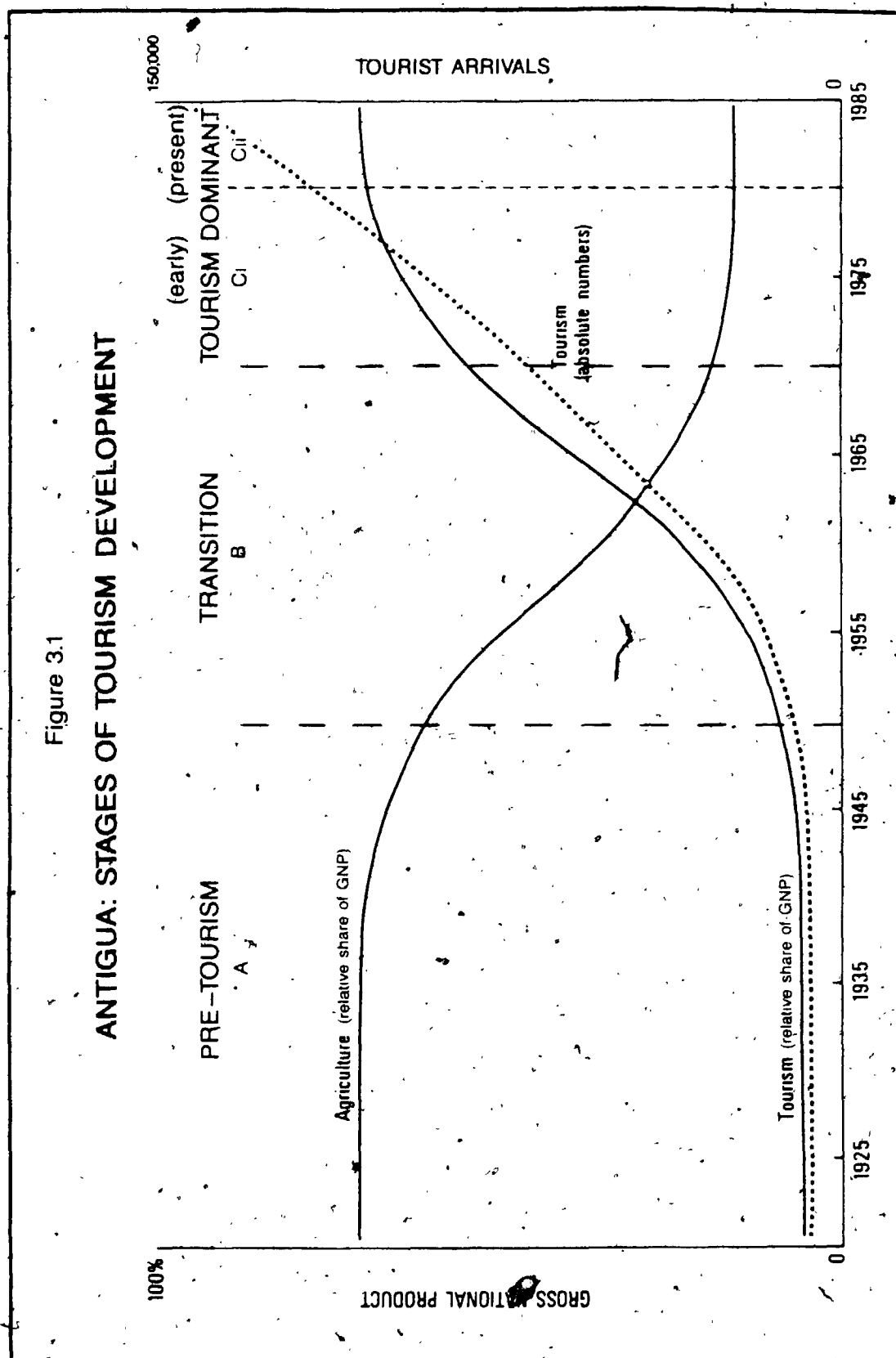
3.1 Selection of Tourism Profiles

Three stages of tourism development have been identified for analytical purposes, based on the economic transition model for Antigua presented in figure 2.3 (see figure 3.1). A representative year for each stage has been selected as the basis for assessing the impact of tourism upon the landscape, since it is hypothesized that each stage of tourism development is associated with a distinct set of structural and spatial characteristics. The resultant profiles will subsequently be generalized and compared in chapter four in order to model the process of heliotropic tourism evolution.

The "pre-tourism" designation employed to describe the initial state of development refers not to the absence of tourism, but rather to its status as a minor component in the economy, both in absolute and relative terms. No specific date can be confidently cited as marking the

Figure 3.1

ANTIGUA: STAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT



introduction of tourism to Antigua, although travel chronicles with specific references to the island begin to appear in the late 1700's. The appearance of Sturge and Harvey's book of travel in 1838 (Wright 1968) has been selected as an arbitrary starting point, since it provides probably the earliest account of travel to the Caribbean by means of steamship, a mode of transportation which did much to facilitate travel to Antigua. The pre-tourism stage (A) endures between 1838 and 1949, during which agriculture maintains a dominant position in the economy, despite decreasing productivity and the abandonment of marginal farmlands. Tourist arrival data are unavailable for this period, although small visitor increases after 1920 may be inferred from the regional statistics provided by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (1945, 109), and by the increase in freighter visitation. Despite improved accessibility in the interwar period, the status of tourism as a significant economic activity was not enhanced relative to agriculture. The latter part of the stage (1943) will be profiled due to the availability of such information sources as the 1:50,000 topographical sheet for 1943 and the West Indian Yearbooks. These sources indicate the presence of resort facilities, even though tourist arrivals in that year were probably negligible because of World War Two.

The transition stage (B) incorporates the period between 1950 and 1970, during which tourism replaces

agriculture as Antigua's dominant economic activity. Stayover arrivals show an increase from probably less than 5,000 to 65,000 per year over the twenty year period, with the growth trend curve resembling the S-curve as it appears during Butler's "involvement" and early "development" phases (see figure 1.6). The year 1963 has been selected for analytical purposes because of its occurrence at a point in midstage when tourism and agriculture contributed equally to the GNP.

The tourism dominant stage (C) which follows has been subdivided evenly into two distinct substages, based on significant differences in the magnitude of tourist arrivals. As a proportion of the GNP, tourism maintained a combined direct and indirect contribution of approximately 60% after 1970, while total stayover arrivals increased by 80% from 68,000 in 1971 to 120,000 in 1984. The "early tourism dominant" stage (Ci) encompasses the period between 1970 and 1977, with a profile constructed for 1973. This choice is based in part upon the existence of a 1:50,000 topographical map for that year, while the resulting ten year interval between the preceding (1963) and following (1984) profiles provides a convenient time sequence.

Currently, the trend curve for tourist arrivals suggests the continuation of growth rates similar to those associated with Butler's "development" stage. The designation "present tourism dominant" (Cii) is employed

for the period between 1978 and 1984. This label will be modified in future as the resort cycle continues to evolve.

3.1.1 Methodology

In conjunction with a conventional search of North American academic libraries, the compilation of the following history was facilitated through field research in Antigua during May, 1984 (4 weeks) and August, 1985 (1 week). On other occasions, visits were made to the University of the West Indies library (St. Augustine, Trinidad and Cave Hill, Barbados) and the research facilities of the Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (CTRC) in Hastings, Barbados, where the 1981 CTRC report on Antigua was located.

During the field investigations, a variety of sources were utilized for the collection of data. Virtually the entire coastline of Antigua was personally examined, along with extensive portions of the interior. Numerous individuals were interviewed, including officials in various relevant government agencies, such as the Tourist Board, the Ministry of Economic Development, and the Development Control Agency. Private developers were also approached, as well as hotel owners and the Small Hotel Association. Various parliamentary acts associated with tourism (sixteen were identified) were obtained from the Government Printery in St. John's. Government agencies

also provided valuable documentation, such as the Antigua and Barbuda Information Memorandum (1982), the World Bank Report on Antigua (1979), the Antigua Development Plan (1976 i and ii), Tourist Board Statistical Reports (1962-1984), the 1:50,000 topographical sheet (1982), older large scale maps depicting portions of Antigua (from the Department of Lands and Surveys) and the Development Plan for the English and Falmouth Harbours Area (Antigua 1980). The Archives provided sporadic coverage of three local newspapers, from which useful information was derived; The Antigua Star, The Antigua Times, and The Workers' Voice. Finally, useful material was available at the St. John's extension branch of the University of the West Indies, as well as the St. John's public library.

3.2 The Pre-Tourism Era in Antigua 1838-1949

The pre-tourism stage in Antigua coincides with the era of sugar dominance, when the appearance of foreign travellers was relatively infrequent, though not unknown. Two major periods are distinguished by the fundamental transformation from sea to air transportation. The steamship era extended from 1838 to 1928, followed by the early air transportation phase, which endured until 1949.

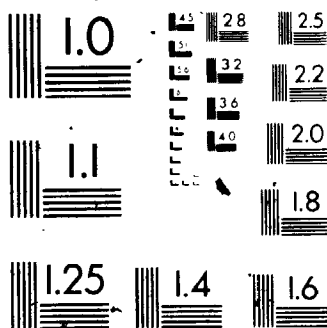
3.2.1 The Steamship Era 1838-1928

There is of course no documentation which definitively records the first visit of a tourist to Antigua, or any indication of when this occurred. After 1632, irregular transportation links were maintained between Antigua and England, Africa, North America and the other Caribbean islands, although the individuals involved consisted for the most part of military personnel, settlers, slaves, planters, bureaucrats and others whose motivations were not associated in any way with tourism. The first attempt to introduce regular sea service to the region occurred in 1825, when the packet "Calpe" was launched for the England-Jamaica link, by way of the Leeward Islands (including Antigua). The line did not prove profitable and was discontinued soon after, thereby perpetuating the isolation of the Caribbean in relation to the metropolitan countries, and discouraging nonobligatory travel to the region (Lehmann 1978, 7).

Certain travel accounts written during this early period provide the first links with tourist activity in the region, as these were undertaken because of curiosity, health restoration or wanderlust. Included among these is the anonymous "Journal of a Lady of Quality, Being the

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Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal, in the years 1774-1776", which contains references to Antigua (Andrews 1927). One of the first chronicles to provide detailed information relevant to Antigua was published in 1832 by H.N. Coleridge (1832), who described a voyage by sail to the Caribbean undertaken by the author seven years previously. In 1839, Joseph Gurney (1840) visited Antigua in order to investigate post-Emancipation living conditions among the ex-slaves, and to explore the possibility that these colonies might provide a positive model for the recalcitrant slave states in America to emulate. Humanitarian visits to Antigua such as this were not uncommon during the 1830's and 1840's, since the island provided the only Caribbean example of a sugar producing entity which had passed immediately from slavery to full freedom in 1834 without the implementation of an "apprenticeship" system which obligated the ex-slaves to remain on the estates for a period of time following passage of the Emancipation Act. The effects of Emancipation could therefore be more accurately assessed on Antigua rather than other sugar producing islands, as pointed out by Sturge and Harvey in 1838. (Wright 1968).

While a liberal "missionary" motivation common to the era is clearly evident, numerous references were made by these visitors to the recreational opportunities available. According to Gurney (1840, xii):

I consider it to be greatly to our advantage while we are engaged in the pursuit of serious and interesting objects, to catch the passing recreation afforded us by birds, flowers, blue skies and bright sunsets.

During Gurney's visit, accommodations were provided mainly in the "great houses" of the planters, although the author additionally cited the existence of a solitary "hotel" in St. John's, without providing any further details as to its location or capacity. The numerous opportunities made available to Gurney for meeting with local dignitaries attests to the novelty of the early tourist visits (Gurney 1840, 55-60). This does not imply that all visitors were similarly treated, although anyone with the resources to undertake a trans-Atlantic voyage in the early nineteenth century for nonobligatory purposes would probably have occupied a social status or profession worthy of special attention.

The great majority of Gurney's fellow passengers, unlike the author, were characterized as seekers of "better health" (Gurney 1840, 2). Other contemporary sources also allude to the supposedly salubrious attributes of the regional climate, which attracted persons afflicted with a variety of ailments. Robert Baird (1850), another early visitor to Antigua, dealt in particular with this medical aspect of Caribbean tourism (Baird 1850, 6, 35);

My chief motive for giving this Work to the press, is the hope, that a perusal of my "Impressions and Experiences", in the course of a voyage not frequently undertaken, will prove pleasant to many, and profitable to a few- and, more particularly, to those who may, like myself, be advised or induced to visit the West Indian Archipelago under medical advice.... this book is in some measure designed as a handbook and guide for European invalids, visiting these islands in search of health.

The healing motive associated with many early forms of tourism was therefore evident in the Caribbean during the 1800's, serving as a precursor to the modern image of warm weather or "heliotropic" tourism as a healthful escape from the everyday tensions of modern life.

Baird provided a detailed account of his two month trip to Antigua and several other Caribbean islands. Multiple destination journeys such as this were the norm rather than the exception, since numerous Caribbean islands were reasonably accessible once the initial trans-Atlantic crossing was completed. Since the latter was often a "once in a lifetime" opportunity, travellers would attempt to visit as many of these islands as possible. Baird's use of steam powered packet transport for the trans-Atlantic crossing was still considered novel in the mid 1800's, and the author alluded to the comparative inefficiencies and discomforts of Coleridge's 1825 journey, which was undertaken aboard a slower but more conventional sailing vessel. Comparisons of the

two transportation modes vindicate the steamship as a more efficient means of conveyance. For example, the twenty-eight day voyage of a sail packet from Liverpool to New York in the 1820's was significantly reduced by Cunard's steamship service to a fifteen to twenty day journey by 1838 (Lehmann 1978, 6-7). Although the sail powered clippers introduced during the 1840's were able to achieve similar time savings (Lehmann 1978, 8), this innovation represented the culmination of sail based technology. In contrast, steamships were capable of completing the trans-Atlantic crossing in eight days by 1870, thus terminating the era of competitive commercial trans-Atlantic sail.

Baird provided numerous descriptions of the Antiguan landscape, and offered insights into the activities, facilities and attractions accessible to the mid-nineteenth century traveller. Like Gurney, Baird alludes to the "uncomfortable" hotel in St. John's, and recommends instead a letter of introduction as a means of obtaining decent lodging in "country houses" (Baird 1850, 34) where the plantocracy welcomed such visitors as potential settlers. A major problem concerned the disembarkation process, which had to be effected at English Harbour due to the shallowness of the harbour at St. John's. An "inconvenient" and "expensive" coach ride to the capital was necessary, since no accommodations were available at the English Harbour naval facility (Baird

1850, 32). As a visitor, Baird too was primarily concerned with the living conditions of the estate workers, but also referred to such specific attractions as St. John's cathedral and the Fig Tree Hill area with its "luxuriant" vegetation (Baird 1850, 38).

The sporadic publications of travellers such as Coleridge, Gurney and Baird offer insightful profiles of the early allocentric tourist, or at least that portion who, by education and motivation, were compelled to produce a written account of their experiences. Certain commonalities distinguished these nineteenth century tourists and travels from their modern counterparts. The Caribbean was reached after a lengthy trans-Atlantic voyage aboard the infrequent and irregular steam packet or sailing lines of the time, and usually a number of islands were visited in order to justify the long voyage. Primary motivations included the search for good health, adventure, and the continuing desire among many liberals to investigate the economic and spiritual well-being of the recently emancipated black population, usually under the auspices of humanitarian or religious organizations. For example, The Reverend Jabez Marrat (1876) of the Wesleyan Church travelled to the region ostensibly to report on ecclesiastical matters, although like previous visitors, his "Scenes and Incidents..." contain many observations of the scenery and other matters of general interest, intended perhaps to attract a wider audience of

readers. Attractions commonly cited often encompassed the overall landscape and the island way of life, while the beaches and other features commonly associated with modern tourism were rarely mentioned. The activities and itineraries of the early visitor to the region were usually focused around the estates, attesting to the existence of a plantation oriented "welcoming society" predisposed to receive European and North American visitors with great hospitality, provided that these were of acceptable social or economic standing (Husbands 1983). Except for the single "hotel" in St. John's, no other facilities catered specifically to the tourist, who instead obtained accommodation in the "great houses" of the planters:

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early 1900's, attempts were once again made to introduce a regular passenger service between Great Britain, North America and the major ports of the Caribbean. The Leeward Islands, including Antigua, finally received scheduled steamship service during the 1880's, and the role of these ships as precursors to the modern cruise ship industry is strongly suggested by Ober (1893, 453) in the following passage;

There is, and has been for some years, a line of good steamers between these islands (the Leewards) and the States, the "Quebec Line" which has given much attention to the development of tourist travel hither, and has provided as regular a service as the travel

and traffic would warrant. Many have taken advantage of their excursion tickets, in the few years past, to visit these islands, and all speak with delight of the trip afforded by voyaging on such steamers as the "Caribee", which makes a leisurely tour of the chain, stopping a few days at the principal ports, giving ample time for excursions into the country, and providing a comfortable home for its passengers, to which they can retreat as occasion demands.

Frederick Ober (1893, 1907, 1908) published several influential accounts of his Caribbean travels, describing Antigua as a relatively unattractive destination compared with the verdant Windward islands to the south. According to his second book (Ober 1907, 307), "there does not seem to be enough in the aggregate to warrant a visit (to Antigua)". Unlike previous visitors, Ober (1908, 348) cited the "good fishing" in St. John's Harbour and "fairly good plover and duck shooting" in the winter as major tourist activities. The "Central" Hotel in St. John's is mentioned, although whether this is the same facility referred to earlier by Gurney (1840) and Baird (1850) is not known. In addition, "lodgings" and "rented houses" could be obtained "in the best part of the city". Regarding accessibility, Antigua was served every ten days by the "Quebec Line", every fifteen days by the "Pickford and Black Line" from Halifax (via Bermuda), as well as the "Royal Mail Line" out of New York and Southampton, via Barbados (Ober 1908, 348). An increased tourist volume must be assumed as a consequence of this increased access.

With the closure of the naval facilities at English Harbour in 1899, the inconveniences of disembarking at Antigua became more pronounced. Verrill (1919, 56) noted that the larger ships were forced to anchor at sea five miles from St. John's due to the shallowness at the entrance to the harbour. From there, entry was effected by smaller vessels in an uncomfortable and time consuming process. Like Ober, Verrill's impressions of the island were uncomplimentary, concluding with the observation that "taken as a whole... Antigua possesses few real attractions for visitors" (Verrill 1919, 60). Contributing to this negative assessment was the general aura of depression and ruin afforded by the declining sugar industry and the abandonment of the military facilities. Franck (1920, 344-45) suggested that it was possible to see the sights of Antigua by automobile in a few hours, and that the "goal of most mere visitors" was English Harbour. The attractiveness of the abandoned naval base to visitors is thereby mentioned for the first time.

The absence of data on the volume of tourist arrivals to Antigua does not present any major impediment to the study, since the persistence of a small scale traffic during this period can be inferred on the basis of the evidence considered above. Furthermore, there is no indication that tourism exercised any significant impact upon the Antiguan economy prior to 1930.

3.2.2 Early Air Transportation 1929-1949

The first regularly scheduled air service to Antigua was inaugurated by Pan American Airways on September 22, 1929, although passengers were not accommodated until the following February (West Indies Yearbook 1930, 52). The Antigua connection was incorporated into the Puerto Rico-Trinidad route, which in turn represented the most recent extension of Pan American's Miami-Havana-Puerto Rico Caribbean network. Pan American's penetration into the Caribbean and Central American market was made possible with the passing of the Foreign Air Mail Act in 1928, which enabled the company to acquire a monopoly over regional air mail services. However, the primary purpose of the legislation was geopolitical, since the Americans wanted to prevent European interference and competition in its "backyard". In addition, the air monopoly guaranteed the security of the Panama Canal, and assured an American "open door" to South America (Padula 1983, 24). The airline therefore essentially functioned as an instrument of American foreign policy, with the introduction of air service to Antigua representing one element in the integration of the region into the sphere of American aeronautical influence.

The air transportation era in Antigua began inauspiciously, with landings once a week on St. John's

Harbour by flying clipper sea planes capable of accommodating eight passengers at a speed of 105 mph (Antigua Star, Sept. 22, 1964, 1). At first, severe technological limitations restricted the utility of air transportation as a means of visiting the island. According to G. Young (1973, 25);

In the early days of air travel services were irregular and aircraft were cramped and noisy to the point that conversation was impossible. Cabins were not pressurized and the passenger was subjected to a good deal of vibration; the cruise altitude of the aircraft meant a bumpy ride except in the best of weather. Nor was the price competitive...

As a result, the vast majority of tourists during the 1920's and 1930's continued to arrive by steamship. In 1930, the six lines which provided passenger service to Antigua were the "Canadian National Steamships" and the "Ocean Dominion Line" from Canada, "Furness Withy" and "Western Ocean Steamship Corporation" from the United States, and the "Harrison Line" and "Elder and Fyffe's" from Great Britain. Stops were generally made on a weekly or fortnightly basis, and capacities ranged from ten to twenty first class berths on the Harrison Line, to 70-100 regular passenger berths on the Elder and Fyffe's ships (West Indian Yearbook 1930). Since several stops were normally included on a ship's itinerary, it is difficult from these figures to accurately estimate the number of passengers disembarking at specific destinations such as

Antigua.

The strategic significance of Antigua as a transportation hub and departure point for a number of adjacent islands was reflected in the relatively large number of lines which called there, as well as in its early inclusion in the Miami-Trinidad route. Despite these advantages, the level of tourism development was minor compared to those destinations in the northern Caribbean where geographical proximity to the expanding North American market facilitated the emergence of significant local resort industries. By 1930, some initial pressure was exerted by the Antiguan business and planter communities to promote tourism as an alternative to the unstable export agriculture sector. Although "a few visitors from Canada and the United States" had "discovered" Antigua by that time (West Indies Yearbook 1930, 268), it was generally accepted that only a limited success in tourism could be achieved. According to the West Indies Yearbook (1930, 268):

Antigua is too far from the mainland to develop into a millionaires' resort of the type of Bermuda and the Bahamas, and indeed her inhabitants hardly wish for this, but they do hope that the beauty of their island will attract to their shores many of those who wish to winter in the south but who cannot afford the existing expensive resorts, or who prefer to wander farther afield and reach closer to nature.

Several years previously, a Leeward Islands official, A.E.

Collins, once again alluded to the salubrious qualities associated with the West Indies, when, in an early example of tourist promotion, he exhorted tourists to "Visit the sunny Leeward Islands for your health and pleasure. In their bracing climate you will enjoy a rest cure and find invigorated health." (Yearbook 1927, 213).

The absence of existing specialized tourist accommodation was cited as a major impediment to the development of a tourist flow, with the "Globe Hotel" in central St. John's still listed as the island's only overnight facility (West Indies Yearbook 1930, 267). However, "with a view to the development of Antigua as a Winter Resort", a proposal was submitted by the Canadian entrepreneur F.N. Cowie on March 27, 1930 to construct a "badly needed" resort hotel in the vicinity of St. John's tentatively to be named the "Nelson and Rodney", as well as a "Garden Valley Club", Sporting Club, Power Plant and Harbour Airport. Although preliminary permission was granted by the colonial government, the project was deferred and eventually abandoned (West Indies Yearbook 1930, 268). Had the project been undertaken, these facilities would have represented a major departure from a tradition of accommodation based on the estate "great houses" and to a lesser extent, the modest downtown "hotels". Meanwhile, the establishment of beach houses at Fort James during the late 1920's was cited as the "first serious attempt to cater to the tourist trade" (Yearbook

1929. 278-79).

The preliminary attempts by the local elites to establish a tourist industry in Antigua eventually resulted in the formation of a Tourist Information Bureau in the mid-1930's. This facility was privately managed by the firm of Geo. W. Bennet, Bryson and Co. Ltd., a prominent Antiguan business enterprise involved in general merchandising and steamship services (Yearbook 1939, 144). Organized to attract and assist foreign visitors, the Bureau was the first agency in Antigua to cater specifically to tourists (West Indies Yearbook, 1938. 44). Another businessman in St. John's, Mr. Jose Anzio, operated a "special motor bus service" which connected the hotels of downtown St. John's with the Fort James beach (Yearbook 1933, 218). Attractions of Antigua frequently cited in the 1930's included English Harbour and the beach at Fort James, near St. John's. The latter reference indicated the emergence of Antigua's coastline as a focus for tourist activity (see for example the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1935, VIII, 15:1, and Oct. 17, 1937, XII, 3:2).

The development of tourism in Antigua was hindered by the Depression of the 1930's. Although the outbreak of World War II continued to suppress the sector, events were initiated which positively affected the island's tourist industry. In 1940, Pan American Airways president Juan Trippe was requested by the American War Department to construct a network of airfields and military bases

throughout the Caribbean and Latin America, in anticipation of a possible German incursion into the region from their bases in Vichy controlled Africa (Bender and Altschul 1982, 332). Direct involvement by the American government was not possible, since this would have been perceived as an unfriendly act by the British and Latin American allies. Once again, Antigua was selected (along with St. Lucia and Trinidad) as a site for military facilities because of its strategic regional location. Under the 1941 "Leased Bases Agreement" between the U.S. and Great Britain (H. Mitchell 1967, 166), Coolidge air base was established on a "large rough moor 3 miles east of St. John's" (Platt 1941, 91). While primarily intended to fulfill military functions, limited civilian flights were allowed as compensation for the curtailment of wartime shipping activity, during which the Canadian National Steamships provided the only passenger service to the island (West Indies Yearbook 1941-42, 81). On January 1, 1941, Pan American Airways doubled its civilian flights to Antigua by offering two flights each week (Antigua Star Sept. 22, 1964, 10).

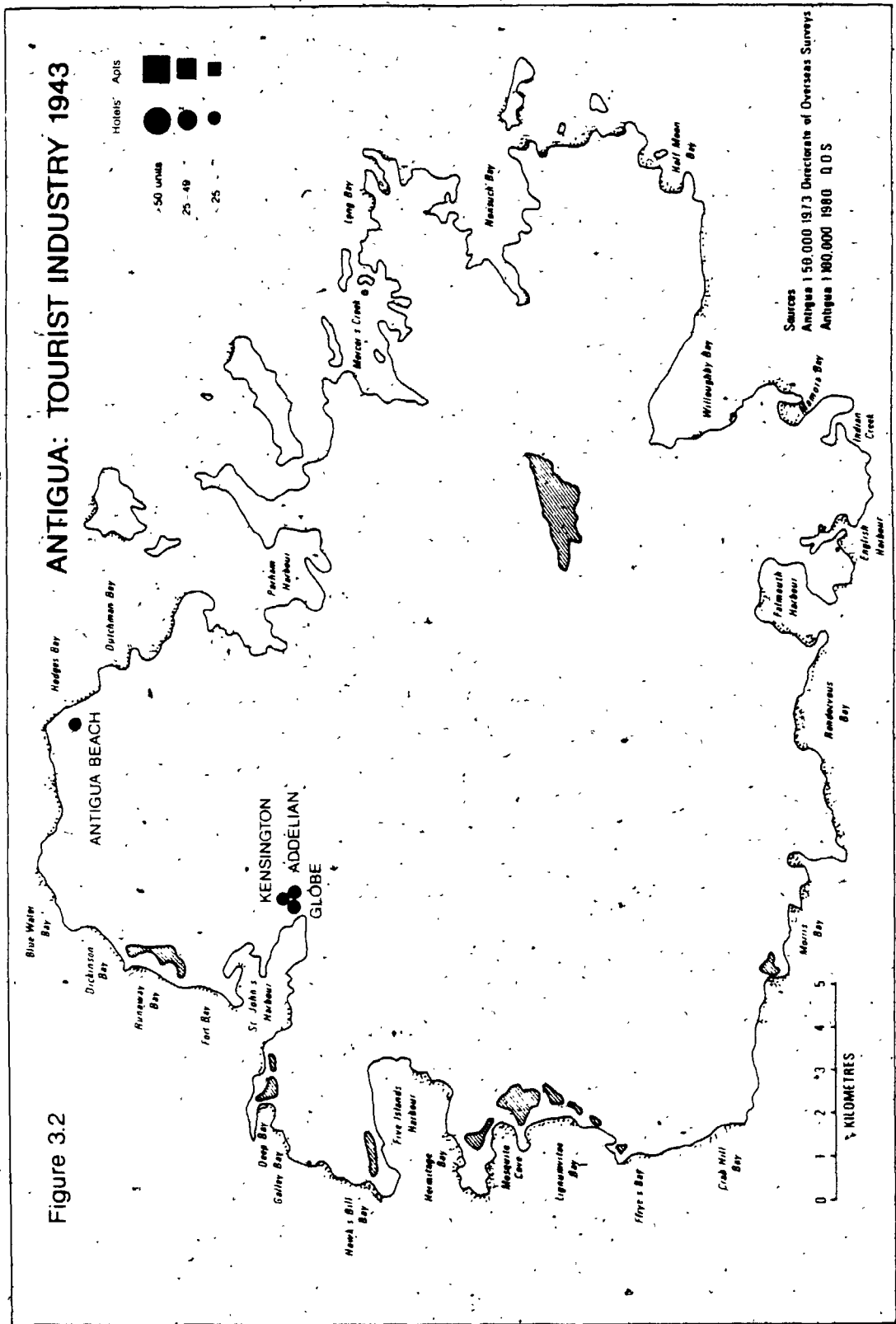
The first facility which could properly be designated as a resort hotel was opened on March 4, 1940. (Antigua 1977), despite the war induced absence of a tourist flow. The government assisted Antigua Beach Hotel was a converted "great house" consisting of twenty-two units, located on Hodge's Bay to the immediate north of the air

base (see figure 3.2). The original owner of the hotel was an American, Sandy Turner, who along with two friends purchased a defunct 180-acre estate at Hodge's Bay for 1,200 English pounds. This parcel was eventually developed as the Gambles housing estate (Graves 1965, 164). According to the New York Times (Mar. 16, 1941, XI, 8:3), the hotel supplied "a long-felt want on the island, where first-class lodgings have been difficult to find". In 1941, St. John's based facilities in addition to the seven unit "Globe Hotel" included the "Addelian" (3 units), "Kensington House" (11 Units) and the "Broadway" (4 units). All except the "Broadway" were situated on St. Mary's Street in the commercial core of St. John's (West Indies Yearbook 1941-42, 328).

The Antiguan landscape profile of 1943 reflects the minor status of tourism in the island economy. The newly opened Antigua Beach Hotel constituted the most conspicuous feature of the tourist sector, which was further supported by a small concentration of modest urban "hotels" favoured by their greater accessibility to services and transportation facilities of St. John's. Supportive infrastructure utilized to a small extent by tourists included the air base and shallow water port at St. John's. Regarding attractions, only Fort James beach and English Harbour are regularly cited as popular destinations for tourists. Otherwise, activities and "facilities" were small and widely dispersed, generating

ANTIGUA: TOURIST INDUSTRY 1943

Figure 3.2



no clearly discernable indirect impacts. In contrast, the landscape was dominated by the sugarcane crop, which comprised 75% of the sixteen thousand acres occupied by cropland after World War II (West Indies Yearbook 1948, 341). Additional activities related to the modern plantation system evident in the 1943 1:50,000 topographical sheet included at least twenty functioning sugar refineries, a network of producing estate units, and an extensive system of rail transportation connecting the refineries with the port at St. John's.

After World War II, circumstances appeared favourable for the growth of the Antiguan tourist industry, which would benefit from the presence of the new air base and the resumption of normal transportation flows. The recognition of tourism as a major potential post-war activity in the Caribbean is apparent in the release of a survey by the Anglo-American Commission (1945). As the first major international effort to promote a regional tourist industry, the Commission intended to "carry out a preliminary survey for the purpose of bringing within a single comprehensive report a description of the attractions, existing and potential, which the Caribbean has to offer tourists" (Carlozzi 1968, 111). Several events occurred in Antigua towards the end of the 1940's which stimulated the development of tourism as a significant economic activity on the island. These will now be considered.

3.3 Transition 1950-1969

The economy of Antigua experienced a fundamental transformation between 1950 and 1970 as the traditionally dominant agricultural sector was supplanted by a tourist industry characterized by the growing influx of beach oriented visitors. The transition stage is divided into an "early" and "late" period, with the introduction of jet traffic in 1959 signifying the end of the first phase.

3.3.1 Early Transition 1950-1959

Local postwar support for tourism in Antigua was motivated by serious concerns for the long term economic viability of the island, given the inherent structural problems of export agriculture. In addition, the economy was being negatively affected by reductions in the American military presence. Responses indicative of an increased involvement with tourism by the local elites included the establishment of a nonstatutory Antigua Tourist Board in 1949 as a vehicle for promoting and co-ordinating the sector (Antigua 1977). Secondly, The Hotel Aid Ordinance was passed in 1951, providing incentives for the establishment of hotels containing at least ten units. Under this legislation, all relevant

purchases of materials, equipment and furniture were exempted from customs duties and consumption taxes, while a tax holiday of five years was provided during which all losses sustained by the operation could be carried forward for an additional eight year period (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 31). Although government assistance was previously made available for the construction of the Antigua Beach Hotel, the formation of the Tourist Board and the passing of the 1951 incentive legislation initiated an era of government involvement which emphasized the provision of a favourable investment climate as a means of attracting private capital, both local and foreign.

Other factors crucial to the early development of the tourist industry in Antigua included the deactivation of Coolidge airbase in 1949, which provided civilian aircraft with virtually unrestricted access to one of the largest and most strategically located air facilities in the British Caribbean. However, the Leased Bases Agreement of 1941 stipulated that jurisdiction over the base could be returned to the American military authorities at any time during the following ninety-nine years, with the resulting rescission of all civilian landing privileges (West Indies Yearbook 1952, 213). Improvements in civilian aviation services were introduced by Pan American on January 3, 1950 with the introduction of flights which for the first time required no change of aircraft between the point of origin (Miami) and Antigua. The intermediate stop at San

Juan, Puerto Rico was still necessary for refuelling purposes (Antigua Star Sept. 22, 1964, 10).

The establishment of the Mill Reef Club on the south-east coast of Antigua in 1949 contributed to the island's emerging post war public profile (Graves 1965, 151). The Club was founded by a consortium of wealthy Americans, who acquired an abandoned 1,400 acre estate prior to 1945 (Edson 1964, 149) with the intent of establishing an exclusive winter residential development in a remote section of Antigua. The selection of Antigua as a site for the project was made by the architect Robinson "Happy" Ward, whose "scientific" survey of the Caribbean was conducted in order to identify the choicest destination area on the basis of climate, stability, accessibility, water and beach, living costs and other factors (New York Times January 19, 1964, XX15). By 1951, twenty mansions had been constructed, and Antigua was acquiring a reputation as an "upscale" destination area patronized by the Mellon family and other well known members of the American business elite (Waugh 1958, 270).

The popularity of the Mill Reef Club has been cited as the major factor leading to the construction of numerous new hotels beginning in the late 1950's (New York Times January 22, 1967, XX14). The Mill Reef project also represented Antigua's initial involvement in the residential tourist sector, creating a prestigious environment which stimulated the establishment of other

large housing developments dominated by expatriots.

Finally, the foundations of the Antiguan yachting industry are evident in 1949, when the retired English commodore V.E.B. Nicholson sailed into the deserted waters of English Harbour on February 12 aboard his yacht Mollihawk, while en route to Australia. Recognizing the potential of the abandoned Dockyards as a service centre for yachts, Nicholson remained in Antigua in order to initiate the necessary improvements (Sanders 1982, 48). Earlier, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (1945, 79) had identified the Dockyards as a potential centre for tourism related development. In 1951, the "Friends of English Harbour" (FEH) was established by the governor, Sir Kenneth Blackburne, as a non-profit organization devoted to the historical restoration of the harbour and its development as a major regional yachting centre (The Worker's Voice Mar.5, 1955, 2). The organization's fund raising campaign in the United Kingdom during the 1950's was heavily publicized in the Times of London, thereby contributing to the market visibility of Antigua.

The Hotel Aids Act and the deactivation of the airbase were particularly important to the growth of the stayover tourist sector, while the establishment of the Mill Reef Club and the campaign to restore the Dockyards were catalysts for the residential tourist and yachting sectors. Regarding accessibility, steamships had temporarily regained their dominant status as a mode of

tourist conveyance in the late 1940's (West Indies Yearbook 1952, 213). However, air access was greatly enhanced in 1952 when Pan American Airways increased its Antigua service to four flights per week. In the following year, British West Indies Airways (BWIA) commenced passenger service to Antigua by way of a two and one-half hour flight from San Juan, while Pan American introduced a three hour flight from the U.S. Virgin Islands (The New York Times June 7, 1953, II, 13).

The American owned White Sands Hotel, opened on February 1, 1954, was the first major beach resort to be established in Antigua since 1940, and the first to be constructed with assistance from the Hotel Aid Ordinance of 1951 (Antigua 1977). Like the Antigua Beach Hotel, the thirty unit resort was located in the Hodge's Bay area, its late seventeenth century (1694) core having originally served as a planter's "great house". American capital was also responsible in the same year for the establishment of a "luxurious country club" and golf course on the Gambles tract adjacent to the Antigua Beach Hotel, resulting in the employment of two hundred Antiguan's (The Times of London, Mar. 11, 1950, 5). In 1955, the Lord Nelson's Club was opened by the American entrepreneur Nick Fuller, who acquired the former American officers club and barracks for purposes of hotel conversion (Waugh 1958, 270). The emergence of an American dominated tourism region in the Hodge's Bay area by the mid 1950's, may be partly

attributed to the presence of the deactivated airport, which became increasingly important as a point of disembarkation for the tourist traffic. In addition, the presence of the remaining American military personnel and their families provided an incentive for further hotel and residential development, as they constituted for some years a major component of the resort clientele. However, because of their status as military dependents, such patrons were usually excluded from the official stayover arrival statistics.

During 1955, a guest house and bar were opened at English Harbour in order to stimulate the yachting sector and to attract visitors from the hotels of the north coast (Antigua Star Feb. 26, 1955, 2). The overall popularity of the Dockyards as a tourist attraction was indicated by the visit of more than 1,500 viewers during 1954, each of whom were required to pay one shilling for the privilege of touring the facilities (The Times of London Dec. 13, 1954, 6d). In 1958, 4,643 paying visitors were recorded, increasing to 7,562 in the following year (The Worker's Voice June 15, 1960, 1). Within St. John's, the construction of the Michael's Mount Hotel on a hill overlooking the town substantially contributed to the supply of urban tourist accommodation.

The above projects marked the beginning of a tourism related construction boom in Antigua which continued into the 1960's and beyond. Both the labour unions and the

entrepreneurial sector supported these developments, perceiving tourism as an unqualified boon for an economy traditionally tied to plantation agriculture. The enthusiasm for tourism expressed by most Antiguan was fueled by the realization that the two leading hotels (Antigua Beach and White Sands) were completely booked for the 1955-1956 winter season, and that the existing supply of 117 hotel units was wholly inadequate to sustain the demand created by the airport and by the growing amount of media publicity. The labour newspaper, The Worker's Voice, carried at least ten supportive editorials during 1955, many of which advocated the construction of hotels as a logical strategy for reducing unemployment. The editorial of June 3, 1955 reflects this typically uncritical attitude;

There is money in tourism. We have seen the Bermudas and the Bahamas for a number of years thriving phenomenally on a tourist economy. Wealth just pours into those islands and it is shared all around by almost every category of worker in those islands. Any where (sic) that tourism is at a boom there is plenty of money.

Recognizing the attractiveness of the Antiguan environment as an area for resort hotel development, the Industrial Development Board (IDB) of the colonial government recommended the opening of the entire northern coastal region from St. John's to the airport, popularly referred to as the Popeshead Coast, for "resort and residential purposes". A proposal was made to build a

coastal road from Corbison's Point (north of St. John's) to Hodge's Bay (see figure 3.3) "as a prerequisite to any development of the area with the object of erecting hotels or guest houses" (Antigua Star, June 16, 1955, 2). Further government commitment to the tourist industry was demonstrated by the newly introduced policy of reserving suitable public land for hotel development (Antigua 1958, 4);

The development of tourism continued to receive close attention (during 1955 and 1956). To meet the great need for increased hotel accommodation the Government has decided that the construction of hotels must be given high priority, and until the position has improved all Government-owned sites with tourist potentialities have been reserved for hotels named and registered as such under the Licensing and Hotel Aid Ordinances.

Within the next five years, new resort developments on the west side of the Popeshead Coast north of St. John's included the twenty-two unit Anchorage Hotel on Dickenson Bay and the twenty-five unit Trade Winds apartment complex situated on a height of land above the bay. Departing from this pattern, the Half Moon Bay Hotel was established in 1958 on a sheltered beach location in south-eastern Antigua, capitalizing on the proximity of the site to the Mill Reef Club. Supplementary to the Hotel Aid legislation, the government's provision of a favourable investment climate to encourage additional hotel construction was demonstrated by its apparent willingness

"to underwrite any loans for hotel development for persons who have securities such as lands and other properties but not available cash" (The Worker's Voice Apr. 26, 1957, 1). The effect of such a policy was to allow the owners of nonviable estates to enter the tourist industry, in anticipation of increased visitor demand.

By 1955, the seven thousand stayovers who arrived on Antigua by plane significantly exceeded the three thousand who arrived by sea, excluding cruise ship excursionists. The number of air stayover arrivals increased to sixteen thousand in 1959, when Pan American inaugurated the "jet age" with the introduction of its B-707 aircraft on December 10 (Antigua Star, Sept. 22, 1964, 10). The expanded air service and increased availability of high quality resort accommodation on Antigua mirrored the growth of the increasingly affluent North American and European tourist markets. In addition, concerted promotional efforts and special events contributed to the growing public image of the island as a desirable and fashionable resort destination. According to one editorial (Antigua Star July 26, 1956);

The advent of the Mill Reef Club, the Caribbean Tourist Association's headquarters having been set up here for a short period, the visit of Princess Margaret, the coming of the Australian (cricket) team along with the holding of a number of conferences, are among the factors which helped the island to reach its peak in this connection.

2

The cruise ship sector is frequently alluded to as a growing sector of the tourist industry of Antigua during the 1950's. However, the city of St. John's was still unable to provide the level or diversity of related activities and opportunities available in the specialized ports of Hamilton and St. George's (Bermuda), Charlotte Amalie (St. Thomas), San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Nassau (Bahamas), due to its shallow harbour and absence of adequate berthing and port facilities. In 1952, the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Guadeloupe resulted in the diversion of several liners to Antigua (The Times of London Dec. 29, 1952, 56), thereby popularizing the island as an "unspoiled" port-of-call. By 1955, 1,202 cruise ship excursionists had called at St. John's, and this increased to 2,363 in the following year (The Worker's Voice Aug. 24, 1957, 1). Excursionist activities included downtown shopping and visits to the beaches at Fort James, Deep Bay and Dickenson Bay, as well as organized group automobile tours. The Worker's Voice of January 27, 1957 described a tour by 150 passengers of the Oslo Fjord and sixty from the Ocean Monarch to Fig Tree Hill, Shirley Heights and Nelson's Dockyards.

Antigua possessed at least six standard resort hotels in 1960, all externally owned, and the tourist industry contributed as much revenue to the economy of the island as export agriculture. In addition to the beach-oriented resort hotels, initial developments were also discernable

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in the cruise ship, yachting and residential tourist sectors.

3.3.2 Late Transition 1960-1969

The steamship was replaced by the airplane as the dominant mode of transportation for stayover visitors to Antigua by the mid 1950's. Less than 10% (2,147) of stayovers arrived by sea in 1961, and this declined further to 2.5% (1,418) by 1966 (see appendix two). To meet the increased demand for air passenger services, a new terminal building was constructed at Coolidge airport in 1960, and the runway was extended to 6,900 feet in order to accommodate the DC-8 aircraft with its greater passenger capacity (The Workers Voice July 2, 1961, 1).

In contrast to the expanding civilian use of the airport, military landings accounted for less than ten percent (517) of all landings in 1960, compared with 2,797 scheduled air transport stops (Antigua 1960, Table 27).

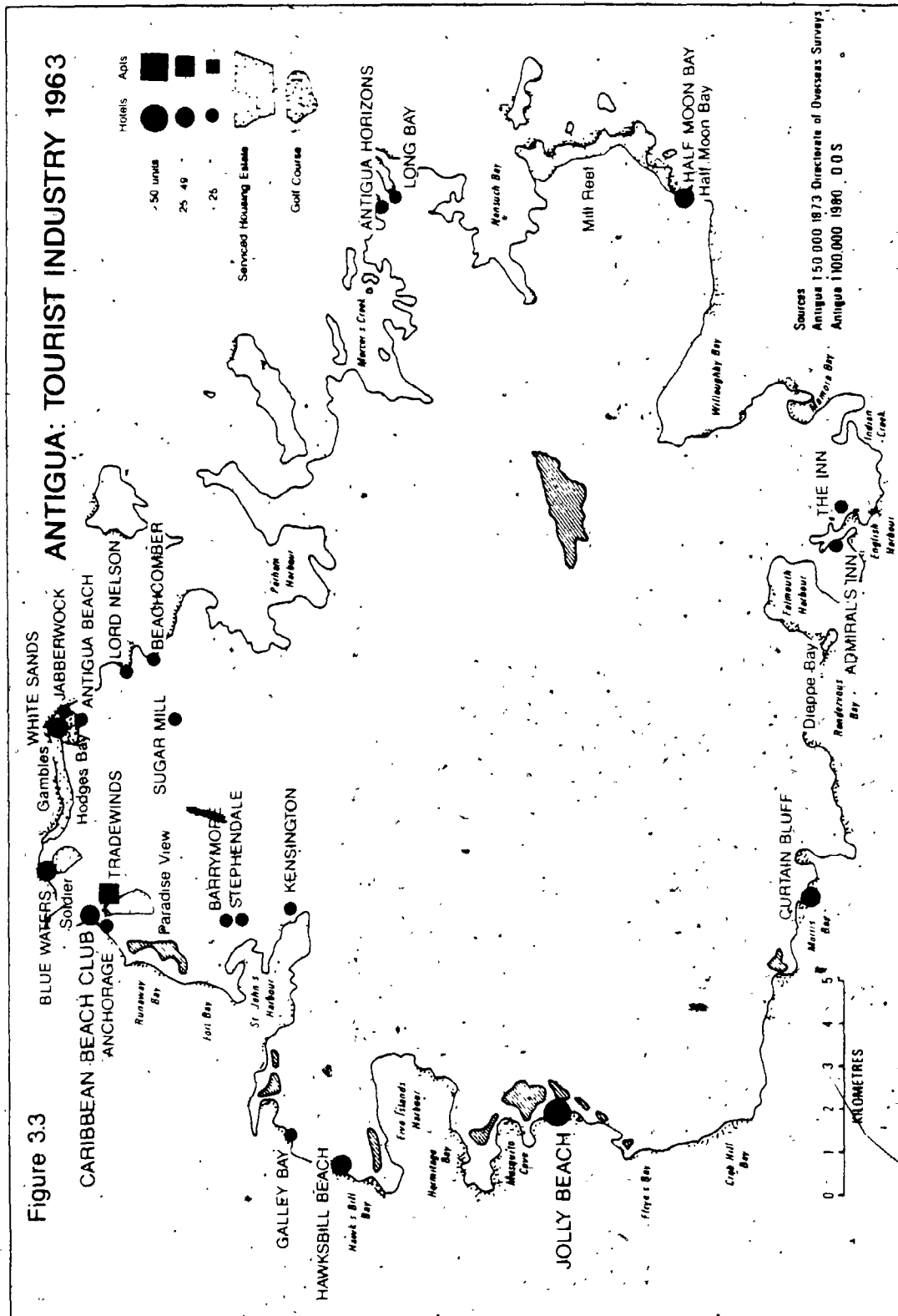
The number of Pan American flights from Miami was subsequently raised to ten per week by the end of 1961 (Antigua Star, Dec.9, 1961, 9), and true "non-stop" service was introduced on December 16 (Antigua Star, Sept.22, 1964, 10). By 1964, additional overseas air services to Antigua were provided by Trans-Canada Airlines and British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), while

Leeward Island Air Transport (LIAT), British West Indies Airlines' (BWIA) and Air France offered local inter-island transportation links (West Indies Yearbook 1964, 379).

These air links reflected the status of the Commonwealth Caribbean (40%), The United States (39%), Canada (6%), the French West Indies (4%) and Great Britain (3%) as the leading suppliers of stayover arrivals for Antigua in 1959, a pattern which was repeated in the following year (Antigua 1960, Table 28).

The thirteen beach hotels which were established in Antigua between 1960 and 1963, all by foreign interests, provided over four hundred additional units of accommodation for the stayover market. The major Antiguan hotels of 1984 were almost all established during the six year period from 1957 to 1963, when the stayover arrival curve resembled the take-off or "involvement" phase of tourist development (compare figure 1.6 with figure 2.2).

New facilities from this era included the Hawksbill Beach Hotel (36 units) at Five Islands, the Blue Waters Hotel (35) at Soldiers Estate, the Curtain Bluff Hotel (26) at Old Road, the Sugar Mill Hotel (22) adjacent to Coolidge airport, the Antigua Horizons Hotel (24) and the Long Bay Hotel (20) on Long Bay, and the Caribbean Beach Club (32) on Dickenson Bay (see figure 3.3). The first "large" hotel in Antigua (over fifty units) was built at Jolly Beach in 1963. The eighty-unit facility was built by a Canadian company, Cape International, for a "syndicate of



Jamaican and American interests headed by the honourable Abe Issa," who produced the pro-tourism Issa Report in 1959 (The Workers Voice July 29, 1961, 1). The Jolly Beach Hotel established a precedent for the construction of large scale accommodations which catered primarily to large groups of tourists arriving on package tours. Like all earlier resort facilities, the dominance of expatriate funding and management reflected the inadequacy of local sources for providing the necessary capital to sustain tourism on an industrial scale. According to one estimate (The Workers voice Nov.3, 1961, 1), 90% of all hotel investment and management on Antigua was controlled by American interests.

Land acquisitions for the new developments usually consisted of large coastal estate parcels which had lost their agricultural viability. For example, 492 acres were purchased by the Issa group in the Jolly Beach Hotel transaction (Edson 1964, 149), while the Curtain Bluff property comprised fifty-two acres (Keown 1978, 160). Since only a small proportion of this space was needed for the construction of facilities, the additional land allowed for a significant future growth potential.

The privately and externally owned hotels and airlines were primarily responsible for the promotion of Antigua as a tourist destination during the transition stage, despite the existence of the government funded Tourist Board (Antigua Star, Sept.22, 1964, 2). As an

illustration of this emphasis on private initiative, a single promotional trip to North America by the owner of the Hawksbill Beach Hotel resulted in contacts with 1,900 travel agents (Antigua Star, Nov. 14, 1964, 10). The government role was essentially a passive one, emphasizing the provision of an investment environment amenable to private capital. Promotional campaigns by government and industry concentrated upon the English Harbour area, which was officially opened to the public in 1961 (West Indies Yearbook 1964, 384). Thirty thousand tourists were estimated to have visited the Dockyards and the adjacent military fortifications on Shirley Heights between 1961 and 1963 (Carlozzi 1968, 88). The funds for the restoration of the area were made available in part through visitor donations, while the Friends of English Harbour continued to raise money by subscription in Great Britain.

Antigua's landscape profile of 1963 reflects the dual nature of the island economy, which was described by Carlozzi (1968, 29-30) as equally dependent upon agriculture and tourism during the early 1960's. The large increase in the number of resort hotels along the coast provides the most obvious evidence of tourism's emergence as a significant economic activity (see figure 3.3). Although a concentration of facilities on the Popeshead Coast was apparent, some hotels selected aesthetically advantageous sites along less accessible

portions of coast. Due to the small size of the island, these hotels were able to exploit the cheaper land costs and impression of isolation afforded by the more remote locations without generating serious problems of accessibility. All hotels outside of St. John's were readily accessible to the beachfront with the exception of the Sugar Mill, whose viability was based instead upon its proximity to Coolidge airport. Finally, the establishment of The Inn (18 units) and The Admiral's Inn (10) at English Harbour attested to the growth of this area as a focal point for tourist activity, especially among yacht based visitors.

Contributing to the growing visibility of the tourist industry in the landscape were the recently established housing developments which contained the second homes of residential tourists. Among these projects, the Mill Reef Club was outstanding because of its exclusiveness and wholly expatriate composition. The establishment of new homes in Mill Reef was governed by a process of extremely rigorous selection, and by 1965, only forty-five lots on the 1,400 acre property were occupied by housing (Graves 1965, 151). Edson (1964) cited the additional availability of serviced lots at six newly opened housing projects, none of which attempted to impose restrictive measures against the presence of local residents. Even so, the Hodge's Bay/Gambles estate was mainly occupied by Americans due to its proximity to the military base, while

Paradise View to the immediate north of St. John's contained a substantial proportion of Antiguans (personal interviews). Unfortunately, there are no data which characterize the housing developments for any time period on the basis of occupant nationality. In addition, the residential tourist sector incorporated a variety of tenure options, including outright home ownership by the tourists, temporary rentals from local residents, long term leases, and other arrangements. Because of this complexity, these housing developments cannot be strictly classified as touristic, with the possible exceptions of Mill Reef and Hodge's Bay. The economic importance of residential tourism in the economy of Antigua during the transition stage is revealed by the 1963 statistics for gross rental income, 11.8% of which was derived from stayover tourists. This in turn accounted for 12% of all tourism receipts (Bryden 1973, 41).

The minor status of St. John's as a centre of tourist accommodation is clearly discernable in 1963. Of the original concentration of small hotels existing in the downtown core prior to 1950, all were closed with the exception of the Kensington Hotel. This was probably inevitable due to the growing emphasis on beach oriented resorts and the decline of the nearby port as a significant means of stayover disembarkation. In their place, a number of small locally owned hotels and night clubs were established on the urban periphery, especially

along the Fort Road "Strip" north of St. John's (Graves 1965, 165). Due to relatively cheap costs, urban proximity and the absence of immediately accessible beachfront, these small hotels catered largely to "business" and Caribbean tourists. The listing of three small guesthouses in St. John's (West Indies Yearbook 1964) further suggested the existence of a minor and unobtrusive mode of accommodation which was overwhelmingly local in ownership, and confined entirely to the urban landscape.

The above hotels, housing developments, and attractions (especially English Harbour) represented the most obvious manifestations of the tourist industry in the Antiguan landscape profile of 1963. As the volume of tourist traffic increased, additional elements of the infrastructure and superstructure became closely associated with tourism, as a result of their supportive function. For example, many retail and service establishments in the central business district of St. John's depended upon stayovers and cruise ship excursionists, particularly during the winter season. The presence of small specialized boutiques, gift shops and certain restaurants catering to tourist requirements provides the most tangible evidence of this dependency. In addition, a major portion of the traffic at Cocolidge airport was now associated with tourism, corresponding to the decline of the facility as a strategic military

installation. The construction and improvement of many Antiguan roads during the 1960's, like the airport enlargement, had been rationalized by their growing role as linkages between the major nodes of tourist activity (Antigua Star, May 1, 1965, 5, Blume 1968, 325). Notable in this respect were the new Popeshead Coast Road, the Old Parham Road (referred to as the "Gateway to St. John's" by the Antigua Times, Mar.30, 1965, 2), and the main arteries which connected St. John's and the airport with English Harbour and Mill Reef. Other local roads were built for the sole purpose of servicing the largely expatriate housing developments.

The impact of tourism upon the Antiguan landscape of 1963 is evident in several invisible or disguised ways, reflecting the increasing indirect contribution of the sector to the GNP of the island. For example, tourism derived revenues, allowing for leakages, were circulated throughout the economy as a consequence of the multiplier effect, an index which illustrates the additional revenue generated for every dollar of direct tourist expenditure (Bryden 1973). This resulted in the creation of additional ancillary employment opportunities, especially in the construction and service sectors. O'Loughlin (1964, 19) estimated that one-third of all construction in Antigua, and the same proportion of construction employment, was related to tourism during the early 1960's. Without including the building of second homes for residential

tourists. In addition, one unit of hotel accommodation over the long term has been estimated to sustain one direct and one indirect job opportunity, with the proportion increasing for "large" resorts (A. Lewis 1979, 212). A substantial portion of the resulting wage earnings (amounting to US\$ nine million in 1967; Zinder 1969, 204) as well as tourist derived tax receipts, were allocated towards home improvement and other forms of capital investment visible in the landscape. Although these have no direct association with the tourist industry, they would not have been possible without the initial generation of visitor revenues, and therefore constitute an important indirect element of the tourism landscape. These disguised impacts must necessarily be generalized because of scale and the problems which are confronted when attempting to calculate the extent to which tourism derived earnings were responsible for specific undertakings. However, the effect may be expected to dissipate with distance from the major nodes of tourist activity.

The five hundred hotel units which existed in Antigua in 1963 (see appendix 5) resulted in the creation of approximately 1,000 tourism related job opportunities, representing 10% of the active labour force. The majority of these mainly unskilled jobs were filled by female residents of those villages which were readily accessible to the larger resort developments. This initiated a strong

employer-employee relationship of mutual dependency between the hotels and the local settlements, where the invisible impact of tourism was most pronounced. Examples of this relationship, still emergent during the 1960's, included the village of Bolans and the Jolly Beach Hotel, Old Road and the Curtain Bluff Hotel, Cedar Grove and the Hodge's Bay area, and Newfields in relation to the Mill Reef Club and the Half Moon Bay Hotel (see figure 2.5 and figure 3.3).

The accelerated decline of the agricultural sector during the 1960's, while attributable partially to the same inherent problems which resulted in earlier abandonments, was exacerbated in several ways by the existence of a growing tourist industry. As an indication of this demise, the total amount of cultivated land in Antigua decreased from 49,000 acres to 34,000 acres between 1946 and 1961 (Bryden 1973, 12-13), falling further to 18,000 acres by 1964 (West Indies Yearbook 1964, 379). A relatively small portion of this loss was directly attributable to the alienation of land for hotels and residential tourist developments, since many of these projects were already located on abandoned farmland. The related pressures of inflation and speculation also contributed to the alienation of agricultural land, especially in areas adjacent to the larger resort developments. Another portion of the loss represented the opportunistic abandonment of economically marginal lands,

as investment capital and government funds were diverted from agriculture to tourism, which was now generally accepted as the only viable long term alternative to sugar (Bryden 1973).

Campbell and Edwards (1965, 5) emphasized the tendency of tourism to affect agriculture detrimentally in the competition for labour resources:

Although the population continued to grow, migration to the United Kingdom and the development in tourism and associated industries both reduced the pool of unemployed and drew labour away from agriculture... The peasant farmers also experienced a labour shortage which led to a significant reduction in the acreage of sugar cane and an even more marked fall in the area of cotton when these crops could not compete with the tourist industry for the services of women who had hitherto served as cotton pickers. Some of the farmers themselves gave up agricultural work in favour of more lucrative non-agricultural employment.

Additional corroborating evidence regarding the negative impact of tourism upon agriculture in many peripheral environments has been obtained from the Balearic Islands of Ibiza and Formentera (Pacione 1977), Easter Island (Porteous 1980) Montserrat (De Vries 1981) and the South Pacific Islands (Thaman 1982).

The direct impacts of speculation and labour diversion were likely to be most pronounced in the areas adjacent to the beachfront hotels and nearby villages, where the labour force was readily drawn to tourism related employment alternatives. The generalized process

of capital diversion would have contributed to the abandonment of some lands in the interior, since these areas had little inherent speculative potential as sites for resort or residential tourist housing. In effect, while some component of the agricultural land loss undoubtedly was directly attributable to resort development, tourism in Antigua must be perceived as an activity which accelerated rather than determined the abandonment of a chronically troubled sector. The causal relationship between the decline of agriculture and the rise of tourism which is inferred in figure 3.1 must therefore be categorically rejected. As well, certain islands such as Barbados have managed to retain the dual tourism-agrarian economic structure into the 1980's due to the viability of continued sugar cultivation combined with a policy of government subsidization. A positive correlation between tourism and some forms of agriculture has been demonstrated in certain instances. For example, Belisle (1983) has shown the beneficial impact of tourism upon vegetable production in Jamaica.

The amount of land cultivated in sugar declined to a few thousand acres by 1970, and the industry was effectively terminated with the closure of the last remaining refinery in 1972 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 14). Subsequent attempts to re-establish the industry have met with failure (Henry 1985). Concurrently, additional hotels and housing developments were established as the

number of stayovers increased from 46,000 to 65,000 between 1964 and 1970 (see appendix 2). The new one-hundred unit Mamora Bay Hotel and casino on the south-eastern coast between Mill Reef and English Harbour was indicative of the growing trend towards larger scale resort facilities (Antigua Star, May 1, 1965, 5). This American owned hotel (Hotel Ventures Ltd.), opened in 1964 and later acquired by Holiday Inns, has since undergone several additional ownership changes. Other major projects included the fifty unit Atlantic Beach Hotel, located on the Popeshead Coast, which was opened in 1969 along with the thirty-six unit Runaway Bay Hotel (Antigua Star, Nov. 12, 1969, 1).

The Deep Water Harbour at St. John's was inaugurated in December, 1968 (Sanders 1982, 21), in order to solve the transportation logjam which had impeded shipping access to the harbour since the earliest days of settlement. To build the harbour, an area 300 feet wide and 8,000 feet long was dredged to a depth of thirty-five feet, and a concrete and steel pier 1,300 feet in length was installed (C. Mitchell 1971, 118). According to Bryden (1973, 142), "one of the key justifications for the expensive deep water harbour built in the second half of the decade was expected income from cruise ship visitors". The facilities were also necessary for the efficient handling of commercial cargo traffic. The number of cruise ship passengers had declined from 17,166 in 1967 to

15,763 in forty-three calls during 1968, but rose again to 27,690 in seventy calls the following year, presumably due to the presence of the Deep Water Harbour. Additional infrastructural improvements relating to tourism in 1969 included the commencement of construction on a nine thousand foot runway at Coolidge airport in order to accommodate the new Boeing 747 "jumbo" jets. The Harbour and the runway redevelopment were both carried out with international loan assistance, illustrating again that the necessary capital for such projects was not available internally (McDonald, 1980, 13). The willingness of the major aid agencies to support them was predicated upon the belief that the resulting boost to tourism would facilitate the "development" process.

Bryden (1973, 107) estimated that twenty-three yachts were available for charter on Antigua in 1968, accounting for 5% of all tourism receipts (Bryden 1973, 114). Sanders (1982, 48) in contrast provided a figure of fifty vessels for the same year, with the discrepancy perhaps being attributable to differences in definition, time of year, or the inclusion of unregistered boats. Antigua's reputation as a yachting centre was considerably enhanced in 1968 with the introduction of Antigua Sailing Week, which would eventually grow to become the largest sailing event between Miami and Rio de Janeiro. The regatta was held in early May in order to partially compensate for the seasonal decline in the tourist industry, while avoiding

the hurricane risk of late summer and autumn (Sanders 1982, 49).

In the flurry of development activity which characterized the late transition stage, a number of projects were announced which were never actually undertaken, while others were subsequently delayed for long periods of time, or never completed. Announced developments which did not materialize included two 150 unit hotels by Sheraton and Hilton at the Dry Hill site north of St. John's (The Workers Voice Oct.28, 1962, 1), a six hundred unit luxury hotel to be built at an unspecified location in 1967 (Antigua Star, Oct.7, 1967, 1), the McKinnon's Harbour project north of St. John's which was to start in 1966, consisting of a "multi-million dollar homesite, marina and yachting harbour" (West Indies Yearbook 1969, 359), a two hundred unit luxury hotel and eighteen hole golf course to be constructed at Wetherill's estate on the Popeshead Coast (Antigua Star, Oct.11, 1967, 1), and a hotel-condominium project consisting of three hundred units at Laurie Bay near the village of Wilikies. Most ambitious of all was the so-called "Five Islands Scheme", which was to entail the construction of eight thousand hotel and condominium units with a capacity of twenty-five thousand visitors, in what would have amounted to the largest single tourism related complex in the entire Caribbean (Antigua Times, Dec.23, 1972, 1). These "mega" projects reflected the ambition of the government

to develop a tourist industry characterized by large scale resort facilities catering to high income visitors, who, it was argued, would infuse larger amounts of money into the island economy and create more employment opportunities per unit than small locally owned facilities. In one politically embarrassing incident, the Fitches Creek estate was purchased from the government in 1967 by interests who were intending to develop the property as a retirement community for wealthy South Africans (Sanders 1982, 21). Government intervention was necessary in order to prevent the politically unacceptable project, but the incident serves to reflect the often haphazard approach to development associated with Antigua's laissez-faire investment policy.

Projects which were undertaken but never completed included the one-hundred unit Colony Beach Hotel on Falmouth Harbour (Antigua Star, Oct. 7, 1967, 1). The partially constructed but rapidly deteriorating structure stood as a liability in an area largely dependent upon visual aesthetics to attract visitors. Incidents of carelessness such as this were possible because of the absence of zoning regulations at English Harbour (or for that matter throughout Antigua) as a means of controlling the physical development of the landscape. Other illustrations of poor land management in this area included the serious depletion of the Falmouth Harbour mangrove by 1968, and the uncontrolled growth of the local

housing stock from less than one hundred buildings in 1942 to 335 homes in the mid 1960's, as tourism induced employment opportunities were created with the development of the Dockyards. By 1970, the communities of English Harbour Town, Cobb's Cross and Falmouth had physically merged due to the unregulated linear expansion of local housing along the main road (Antigua 1980, 43-44). While the construction of new homes was in itself a positive sign of development, inadequate consideration was given to sewage treatment, infringement upon lands with a high agricultural potential, and aesthetic impact.

Zinder (1969, 211) stressed the need for land use regulations on Antigua in order to avoid the negative repercussions brought about as the result of uncontrolled development, which threatened to destroy the "foundation assets" upon which the success of the tourist industry was based. In addition, unregulated growth policies increased the possibility of negative social reactions from both tourists and the local population, especially once the physical and social carrying capacities of the destination area were exceeded. A survey conducted in the late 1960's rated Antigua as the "least friendly" among the islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean, with tourists expressing displeasure at the level of vacation costs and overall "ambience" (Zinder 1969, 15). Some observers, including Zinder (1969), speculated that the continuation of such trends would generate diseconomies of scale which could

rapidly lead to the loss of visitor arrivals and to an onset of the stagnation and decline stages of the resort cycle.

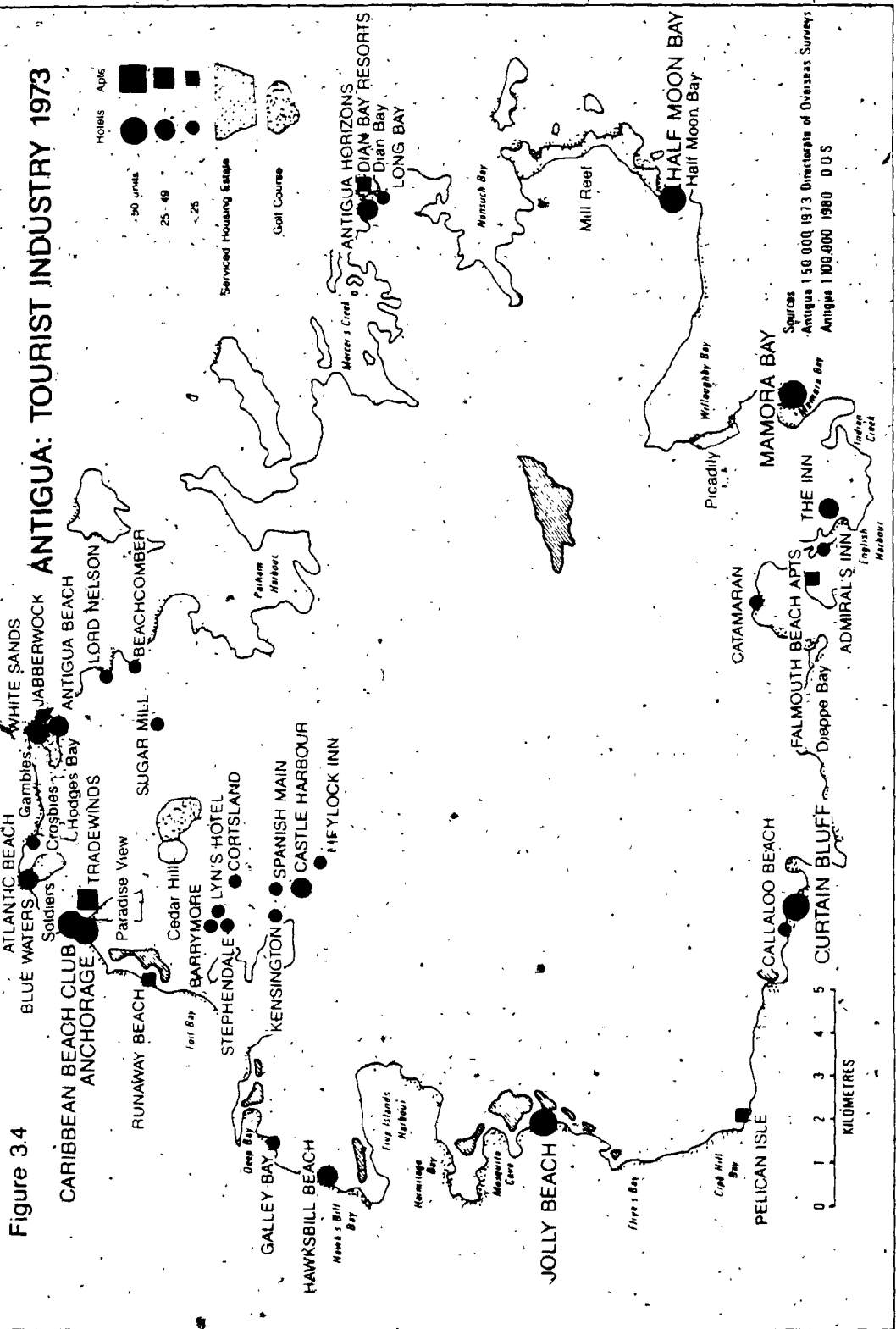
The transition stage in Antigua is characterized by radical economic and physical changes occurring over a brief period of time. Direct evidence of tourism's growing significance is provided by the large resort hotels and housing developments along the coast, while the yachting and cruise ship sectors were exercising a growing local impact over English Harbour and St. John's respectively. Many infrastructural elements, such as the airport, the primary road network and certain commercial establishments were increasingly utilized for tourism in a supportive capacity. The tourist industry was also beginning to exercise an impact over areas of the island where tourists were not actually present, through the circulation of tourism derived wages and tax revenues, and through its influential effect upon agriculture. The development of tourism was characterized by minimal government interference, which attracted foreign (particularly American) investment capital. Certain ill-conceived projects and other negative consequences resulted from this policy. However, the continuing trend of increased visitor arrivals was not seriously affected, as the problems were outweighed by the physical attractiveness and persisting novelty of Antigua as a tourist destination.

3.4 Tourism Dominant Stage: 1970 to Present

The tourist industry has accounted for approximately 60% of Antigua's annual GNP since 1970, one-third of which represents a direct economic contribution (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 10). Two substages are identified and analysed, recognizing the significant growth in tourist arrivals experienced during this period. The "early tourism dominant" substage occurs between 1970 and 1976, and section 3.4.1 begins with an analysis of the 1973 landscape profile. The "present tourism dominant" substage which extends from 1977 to 1984 represents a preliminary treatment of the period, since tentative 1985 data indicate a continuation of the upward growth trend. A landscape description for 1984 is provided.

3.4.1 Early Tourism Dominant 1970-1976

Significant tourist related modifications are apparent in the Antiguan landscape of 1973 in comparison with the 1964 profile, despite the brief interval of time between the two analyses. The demise of agriculture as a dominant spatial activity was revealed in the government land use profile of 1973, which classified 37.9% of Antigua's land area as "forest and woodland", 34.8% as "grassland", 18.2% as "non-agricultural", 2.3% as "unused



land", and 6.8%, or 4,350 acres, as "cropland" (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 13). In light of this analysis, the indication of expansive sugar cultivation on the 1:50,000 topographical sheet of 1973 (United Kingdom 1973) must be considered grossly inaccurate. The subsequent land use survey of 1976 (Antigua 1976), while utilizing different classification criteria, indicated a similar pattern; 26.6% of Antigua was described as "unproductive and unclassified", 19.7% as "unutilized arable", 17.1% as "forest", 14.1% as "pasture", 11.5% as "subdivisions and settlements", and 10.6% as "roofs and trees". Both surveys revealed a degenerated physical landscape dominated by scrub forest, rough grasslands and abandoned fields formerly cultivated under sugarcane and cotton, with only a small area occupied by crops and improved pasture. Bryden (1973, 12-13) noted that agricultural exports from Antigua, the other islands of the Northern Group (the Leeward Islands), and the Bahamas were "now almost non-existent" in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The indirect contribution of the tourist industry to the existence of these nontourist land uses has been considered in the previous section. Due to the apparent economic success of tourism, little incentive remained to sustain export agriculture, and the few remaining acres of cropland in the 1970's were confined to areas of exceptional natural advantage (Antigua 1976, Map 1). The relationship between village employment structures and

resorts, also evident in 1964, became more pronounced during the early tourism dominant stage. With the number of hotel accommodation units increasing from 504 in 1963 to 932 in 1972, approximately two thousand jobs were directly and indirectly associated with tourism, allowing for seasonal fluctuations. For example, direct hotel employment in 1978 peaked at 1,400 during February, declining to 864 in October (CTRC 1981, 9). Although several new resort hotels were established along the coast since 1964 (including the Atlantic Beach Hotel and the Mamora Bay Hotel), the increase in the accommodation supply was primarily attributable to the expansion of existing facilities (see figure 3.4). The Curtain Bluff Hotel was enlarged from 26 to 50 units, the Anchorage Hotel from 60 to 73 units, the Caribbean Beach Club from 32 to 57 units, and The Inn at English Harbour from eighteen to thirty units (see appendix 6). The trend towards large scale resort facilities, characteristic of industrial tourism, was thereby reinforced, and the proportion of hotel units contained in "large" hotels increased from 25% to 50% of the total between 1964 and 1973 (see figure 4.8). In addition to sustaining a greater absolute number of employment opportunities, the establishment of large hotels was encouraged due to their provision of a greater number of jobs per accommodation unit. The Caribbean Tourism Research Centre (1981, 9) demonstrated that large hotels on average created 1.2 jobs

per room, compared with .6 for medium hotels and .5 for small hotels. Larger and more luxurious hotels, which characterized Antigua's tourism product (R. Young 1977, 663), were also associated with more efficient economies of scale, reduced risk and higher occupancy rates, all of which influenced the viability of resort operations (World Bank 1979, 18). Thus, "superior" or luxury hotels in Antigua were less affected by seasonality, experiencing a May 1978 occupancy rate of 67%, compared with 48.2% for "standard" and 36% for "moderate" facilities (Benjamin 1981, 63). Since foreign finance and entrepreneurial skills were considered necessary for the establishment of large and/or luxurious resorts, the wholly nonlocal control of such hotels in 1973 is not surprising.

"Prime" areas for development included the English Harbour area, Hodge's Bay, and Dickenson Bay, where beachfront market selling prices (1973 US dollars) ranged from \$16,000 to \$25,000 per acre, compared with \$2,000 for less desirable but unspecified coastal locations (Shankland Cox 1974, table 6.2). Reflecting the growth oriented atmosphere of the early tourism dominant stage, the existing pool of 932 accommodation units (according to Shankland and Cox) was expected to be augmented soon by 466 units currently under construction, while an additional two thousand units (including condominiums, apartments, etc.) were said to be under "serious consideration" (Shankland Cox 1974, 54).

Significant additions to the residential tourist sector in 1973 were evident along the Popeshead Coast, where the Paradise View, Soldiers, Crosbies and Gambles/Hodge's Bay housing estates were enlarged through infilling and extension. New housing projects dominated by residential tourists were established at Dion's Bay, Dieppe Bay, Picadily, and Cedar Valley. The latter was unique because of its interior location and the presence of Antigua's only eighteen hole golf course. Based on the 1973 1:50,000 topographical sheet for Antigua (United Kingdom 1973), the number of homes in the above subdivisions in 1973 is estimated at 250 dwellings, many of which were presumably occupied by local elites.

Linkages between the transportation facilities of Antigua and the tourist industry were strengthened in the early 1970's as visitor arrivals continued to increase. In 1973, 96% of the 72,786 stayover arrivals were processed through Coolidge airport (see appendix 2), and the runway extension to nine thousand feet, started in 1969, was completed (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 33). The strong connection between the cruise ship sector and the Deep Water Harbour was reinforced at the same time by the establishment of docking priority for cruise ships, ahead of freighters, during the peak winter tourist season (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11). Regarding other forms of infrastructure, resorts and residential tourist estates accounted for an increasing proportion of water and

electricity consumption and investment, although an accurate picture of this relationship was difficult to establish. According to Bryden (1973, 139);

It is unfortunately not possible at this stage to give firm figures for past investment in infrastructure and public utilities which has been exclusively related to tourism since, although in some cases the division between tourism and other uses may be fairly clear (eg: airports), in most cases it would be very difficult to do without a series of intensive surveys.

Despite this problem, Bryden (1973, 141) estimated that 48% of all infrastructural use in the early 1970's was attributable to the tourist industry, with peak tourist use occurring between December and April. It is evident from the above observations that the expansion of Antigua's physical infrastructure was in large part rationalized by their supportive function within the tourist industry.

The English Harbour area had evolved into a major regional centre of yachting activity by the early 1970's, with the number of yacht visits increasing from 357 to 821 between 1964 and 1973 (see appendix 2). The physical restoration of the Dockyards was nearing completion, and buildings were converted into museums, boutiques, accommodations (the Admiral's Inn and the Copper and Lumber Store apartments) and businesses related to the yachting sector. With the opening of the Deep Water Harbour at St. John's, the number of cruise ship

excursionists continued to increase, numbering 52,529 on 113 calls in 1973. However, the only major landscape change directly associated with the cruise ship sector in addition to the Harbour itself was the onsite, thirty-store shopping plaza built especially for the use of excursionists.

The slump in the Antiguan tourist industry which occurred in the mid 1970's is usually attributed to the "oil crisis" and the subsequent recessionary effect which this had upon the economies of the major tourist markets (World Bank 1979, 18). Stayover arrivals decreased from 72,328 in 1972 to 57,191 in 1976, while excursionists declined even more dramatically from 64,099 to 34,385, revealing for the first time the vulnerabilities of an economy now dependent upon tourism. However, since the respective closures of the sugar and oil refineries in 1972 and 1975 attested to the absence of other viable long term options for the island (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 8), the perception of tourism as the most promising avenue to economic prosperity was maintained. No significant additions to the pool of accommodation were made between 1972 and 1978, thereby interrupting the cycle of construction which first began in 1957. In addition, two financially troubled resorts, the Holiday Inn (formerly the Mamora Bay Hotel) and the Caribbean Beach Club, were acquired by the government of Antigua in order to prevent their closure (CTRC 1981, 3). Their acquisition

represented the first major involvement in resort ownership by the Antiguan government, which subsequently renamed the facilities as the Halcyon Reef Hotel and the Halcyon Cove Hotel respectively (CTRC 1981, 13).

The events of the mid 1970's once again prompted the reassessment of Antigua's laissez-faire, pro-growth tourism ethic, contributing to the formulation in March 1976 of a preliminary Development Plan through the United Nations Development Programme (Antigua 1976). The general planning goal espoused was "to provide physical and socio-economic conditions which will ensure optimum individual fulfillment within an amenable environment" (Antigua 1976, 7). While posing no threat to the dominant role of private enterprise, a stronger mandate for government supervision and planning was advocated. Included within the plan was a strategy for assigning land use priorities, with suitable areas being designated for agriculture, water catchment, industry, scenic and historical interest, settlement, and tourism. According to the Draft Plan (Antigua 1976, 10 and 49),

It is evident that so far the territory has suffered from the absence of planning and control and the lack of a common policy with regard to land uses. Too often development, whether private or public, has been guided solely by the availability of land. Speculative subdivisions have been carried out with a minimum of services and amenities... The English Harbour Area and the coastal area immediately north of St. John's should be reserved for tourism and associate development. Pending the completion of

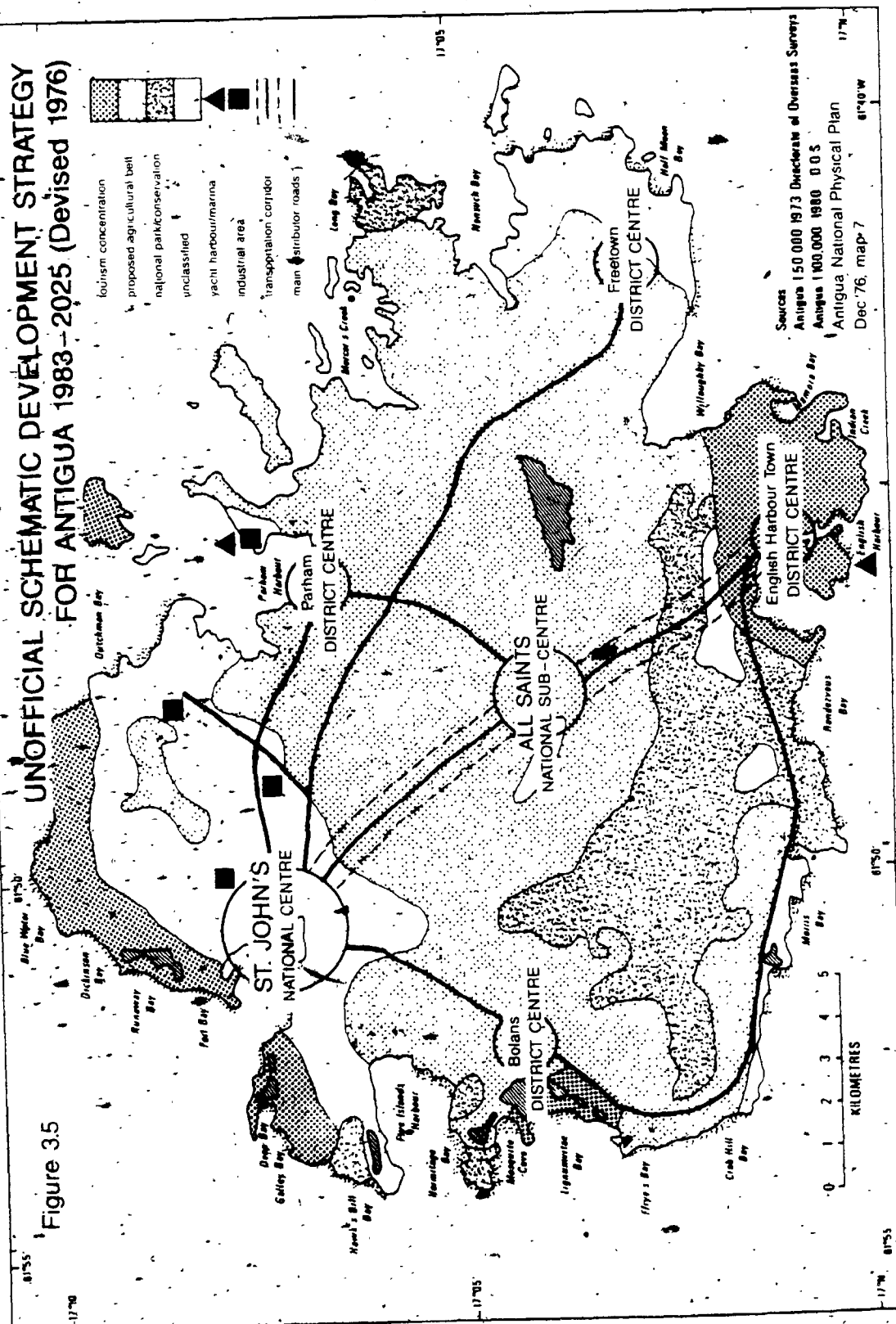
district development plans further development should not be permitted in these areas.

Figure 3.5 illustrates the spatial aspects of the preliminary Antigua Development Plan of 1976 (Antigua 1976, map 7). The concentration of tourism along the Popeshead Coast and English Harbour is depicted, with smaller nodes located at Five Islands (south-west of St. John's) and Jolly Beach. Certain lands were also to be set aside as an agricultural preserve, while the Shakerley watershed surrounding Boggy Peak and other sensitive environments were to be protected as a national park. St. John's would continue its traditional role as the national centre, and the village of All-Saints was selected as the potential national sub-centre. Parham, Freetown, English Harbour and Bolans were all to be designated as local service centres, and the yachting sector would be concentrated at English Harbour and, to a lesser extent, at Parham in the north. A network of main distributor roads was also defined, with the St. John's-All Saints-English Harbour corridor serving as the main transportation axis of the island.

In specific reference to the tourist industry, an accompanying Tourism Sector Programme outlined four medium term objectives (Antigua 1976, 36). The Programme supported the continuation and expansion of overseas promotional efforts, the development of water based recreation resources, the improvement of existing

UNOFFICIAL SCHEMATIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR ANTIGUA 1983-2025 (Revised 1976)

Figure 3.5



facilities and accommodation through marginal investment, and the provision of "moderate" hotels along the waterfront, attached to proposed marinas. Further, tourism was to be given third priority after agriculture and manufacturing in the allocation of government funds, in order to achieve an equilibrium of increased economic diversity (Antigua 1976, 49). Although the Plan has not yet been officially implemented, the government has attempted to diversify the economy by supporting the renewal of traditional activities such as agriculture, and the introduction of new activities, especially light manufacturing and offshore finance. Despite these governmental attempts to diversify, most new private investments undertaken after 1977 have continued to be associated with tourism.

3.4.2 Present Tourism Dominant 1977-1984

The Antiguan tourist industry began to recover after 1977 despite the persistence of recessionary conditions in the major tourist generating areas, the appreciation of the Eastern Caribbean dollar against foreign currencies (except for the US dollar, to which it was tied), and competition from European bound airlines, who offered cheaper fares in order to attract a larger portion of the North American market (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 28).

Stayover arrivals increased from 57,191 in 1976 to 68,297 in 1977, 76,895 in 1978 and 99,536 in 1979, while the number of excursionists recovered from 34,385 to 70,266 during the same interval (see appendix 2).

The success of the tourist industry under such circumstances was attributable to several factors, including the fundamental attractiveness of the island's beaches, relative political and social stability, and an overall attitude supportive of tourism growth. In 1974, the Tourist Office was promoted to the status of a department, and offices were established in London, New York and Toronto in order to provide improved access to these crucial traditional tourist markets. Aggressive promotional strategies were also adopted in co-operation with the hotels, airlines, and regional bodies such as the Caribbean Tourism Association (CTA) and the Eastern Caribbean Tourism Association (ECTA) (Antigua 1977). Political motivations for the continued growth of tourism were apparent during the 1976 election campaign, when Prime Minister Vere Bird "based his campaign on a plan to develop a massive tourist inflow from North America, and possibly Africa, so that there would be no need for income tax" (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin Mar. 1976, 40).

Major expansions undertaken after 1977 included a one-hundred unit addition to the government owned Halcyon Cove Hotel and the construction of four hundred units at the Jolly Beach Hotel, which became the largest resort

facility on Antigua, and one of the largest in the eastern Caribbean (Waters 1979, 76). The establishment of condominiums, "timeshare" units and self-catering apartments reflected new consumer and investment trends in the tourist industry, thereby increasing the diversity of available vacation options for potential visitors. The Registration of Condominiums Title Act of 1973 recognized and attempted to facilitate the establishment of condominiums by stipulating standards and regulations for their construction and operation. With the renewal of large scale tourism related construction after 1977, the number of jobs directly associated with tourism was estimated by the World Bank (1979, 20) to number 1,300, along with three to four thousand indirect opportunities. The government of Antigua provided a higher estimate of three thousand direct and four thousand indirect opportunities by 1980, representing approximately one-quarter of the gainfully employed labour force (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 10).

The expansion of the tourist industry in the late 1970's resulted in a growing discrepancy between the infrastructural demands of the sector and the ability of the island to meet these requirements. First evident as a serious problem of scale in the early 1970's, the issue was exacerbated by the parallel growth and modernization of the local housing and manufacturing sectors. Water consumption by tourists amounted to

seventy-five million gallons annually, with the highest demand occurring during the winter dry season. Similarly, increased electricity use led to frequent "brownouts" which affected local housing as well as those hotels lacking independent sources of power generation (World Bank 1979, 20). By 1980, approximately 23% of Antigua's domestic oil consumption was accounted for by tourism, utilized mainly in the form of electricity (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 20).

Several acts approved by the Antiguan parliament in the late 1970's initiated a higher degree of government control over new construction projects, although no official master plan yet regulated the absolute growth or spatial co-ordination of the tourist industry. The Land Development (Interim Control) Regulations of 1976 required official permission for any building project other than those associated with agriculture and forestry, as well as the submission of detailed construction plans (Antigua 1976). Subsequently, the Land Development and Control Act of 1977 established a Development Control Agency (DCA) mandated to approve these applications, and to formulate and submit to government at some unspecified future date an official Physical Development Plan, upon which future project approvals would be based (Antigua 1976:11). In order to prevent speculative nonresident land acquisitions, the Non-Belongers Undeveloped Land Tax Act of 1978 was passed, providing for a tax penalty on foreign

owned lands which remained undeveloped after a certain length of time. While attempting to curtail land speculation, the Land Tax Act had the ironic effect of encouraging physical development despite the absence of a clear official policy regarding land use.

The lack of an official tourism strategy continued to be cited as an impediment to Antigua's stable long term economic development. According to the World Bank (1979, 21),

Antigua has no stated tourism policy other than to increase the number of tourist arrivals, and no tourism market plan. Tourism growth has been ad hoc and, if it continues that way, the net benefits from tourism may not be maximized... proper planning and policy formulation is required to relate tourism to the other sectors of the economy, transportation, public utilities and agriculture.

Linkages with local food production were deemed to be "virtually non-existent" (World Bank 1979, 15), although the establishment of resorts should have theoretically led to the creation of local entrepreneurial opportunities in agriculture. The value of "lobsters and produce" sold to the hotels by local producers amounted to only US\$300,000 (EC\$850,000) in 1978 (CTRC 1981, 106), with imports accounting for the vast bulk of foodstuffs destined for tourist consumption.

The disruptive seasonal fluctuations of tourism, which resulted in serious utility overburdens and a

variety of negative economic repercussions, were due to Antigua's reliance upon the winter oriented "northern" tourist market. In 1983, the peak month of February produced more than twice as many stayovers (11,210) as the low month of September (4,718) (CTRC 1984, 40).

Contrasting with earlier trends which saw the dominance of arrivals from the Commonwealth Caribbean, the 1970's were characterized by the dominance of The United States, Europe and Canada, with 45%, 13% and 12% of stayover arrivals respectively (Seward and Spinrad 1982, 135).

This market pattern was mirrored in the air transportation network of 1979, which included direct service to Antigua from New York by BWIA and British Airways, from Toronto by BWIA and Air Canada, from London by British Airways, and from Miami by BWIA (Caribbean Yearbook 1978-80, 18).

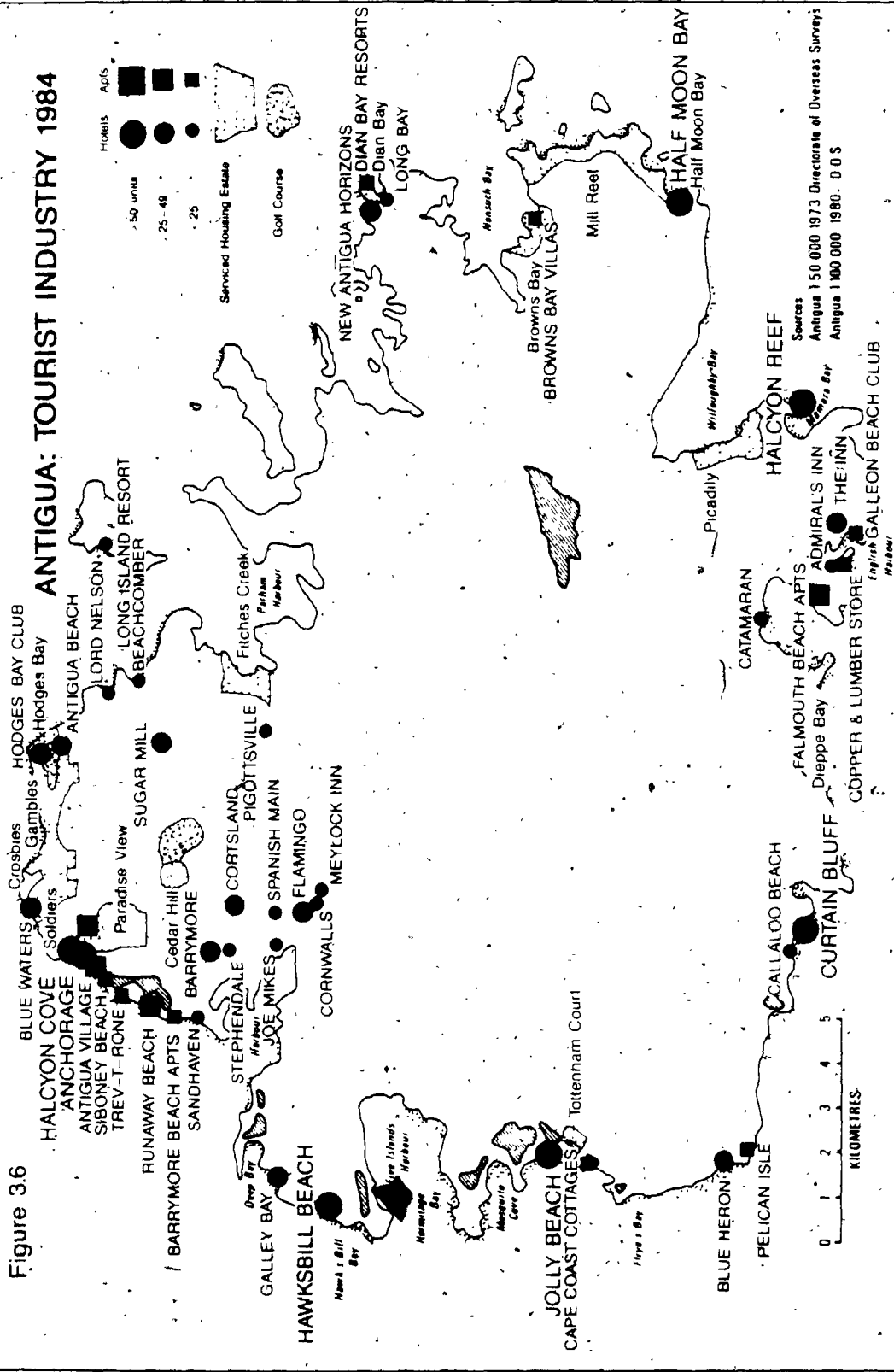
After 1980, additional direct services from the United States were introduced by Eastern Airlines and American Airlines, while PanAm, which had withdrawn its longstanding service in 1974 (Harman and Harman 1979, 89), renewed its overseas connections. In order to diversify market sources, direct service was introduced from Caracas through the Venezuelan carrier Viasa (Economic Intelligence Unit 1981, 26), and Tourist Offices were opened in the nontraditional markets of Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11).

The current (1984) profile of the Antiguan landscape continues to reveal a trend of tourism related physical

expansion confined primarily to the coastal areas of the island. Seven large resorts presently account for two-thirds of all hotel accommodation (1,570 units), the growth of which in this period is attributable more to the expansion of existing facilities than to new openings (see appendix 7). Two of the large hotels are located adjacent to one another on Dickenson Bay, while the others are dispersed along the coast in relatively isolated locations characterized by high quality beachfront (see figure 3.6). The scarcity of sandy beachfront between Coolidge airport and Long Bay partially accounts for the absence of hotel facilities in this area.

With the reversion of the Halcyon Reef Hotel to private (U.K.) ownership as the exclusive St. James Club in 1984 (Economic Intelligence Unit No. 1, 1985, 21), all large hotels with the exception of the Halcyon Cove were once again controlled by expatriate interests, with government policy encouraging the local ownership only of those hotels containing less than fifty units (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11). The eleven medium sized hotels are characterized by a higher proportion of local ownership (41%), but along with "small" hotels (not including guest houses) account for only one-third of all hotel accommodation. The eleven small facilities are 81% locally controlled, but provide only 10% of all units (CTRC 1981, 13).

Concentrations of medium and small hotels occur in



the urban periphery of St. John's, along the Popeshead Coast and in the vicinity of English Harbour, with others located at Long Bay, Old Road and Five Islands. The Blue Heron Hotel, situated between the Jolly Beach and Curtain Bluff resorts, is the only medium sized hotel to open recently (1985). Like the large hotels, the majority of smaller facilities have expanded since 1973, though their overall number has remained consistent. Recent closures have included the fifty unit Atlantic Beach Hotel near Crosbies and the sixteen unit Jabberwocky Club at Hodge's Bay. Their failure has been ascribed to the 1979 recession, as the temporary surplus in the accommodation supply most seriously affected hotels such as these which lacked a high quality beachfront (personal interviews).

Guest houses comprise the most inconspicuous and poorly documented mode of tourist accommodation found in Antigua, with their presence confined almost entirely to the St. John's urban area. Catering primarily to low budget travellers, they currently provide between 175 (Antigua and Barbuda 1983, 177) and 200 (Antigua 1984) units of accommodation, distributed among some twenty-five locally owned establishments. In addition, many "unofficial" guest houses may be found which do not affiliate themselves with the Small Hotels Association of Antigua. Although they do not contribute significantly to overall tourist revenues, the government owned Antigua Development Bank offers financial incentives to the guest

houses, since they provide the most feasible opportunity for local entrepreneurs to enter the tourist industry (Antigua 1984). In addition, it is recognized that a higher proportion of tourist expenditures are retained locally in comparison with the large resorts, although the total revenues are considerably smaller.

Self-catering apartments now constitute a significant component within the landscape of tourism (see figure 3.6), although they are often physically indistinguishable from conventional hotels, ranging in scope from three story multi-unit structures and townhouses to clusters of seaside cottages. The largest concentration of apartments is found along the western Popeshead Coast, and includes the Antigua Village complex (34 units in May 1984), Siboney Beach (presently twelve units, but at least thirty more scheduled to open in 1985), Trev-T-Rone (twenty) and the long established Buccaneer Cove Executive Villas (four). The townhouse style Halcyon Heights condominium project is currently under construction above Dickenson Bay, adjacent to the pioneering Tradewinds complex. Other self-catering resorts have recently been established at English Harbour (Copper and Lumber Store, Falmouth Bay Apartments and Galleon Beach) and Long Bay (Dian Bay Apartments). In 1984, 452 self-catering apartments were located in Antigua, compared with 234 in 1983 and 88 in 1977 (CTRC 1985, 51). This trend is expected to continue as new options are accepted by vacationers, investors, and

governments.

The association between the estate subdivisions and the tourist industry is extremely complex, with certain developments being characterized by a large proportion of local resident occupancy. The construction of estate housing continues at an unprecedented rate, with expansions occurring in the established subdivisions of Paradise View, Crosbies-Soldiers, Picadilly, Hodge's Bay-Gambles and Dieppe Bay. Services have been installed in the new subdivisions of Fitches Creek, Tottenham Court and Seaton's (see figure 3.6), although no houses have been built at the time of writing. Nonresidents are encouraged to participate in the development of Antigua's estate housing sector, and those "desiring land for residential purposes require a license from the Government, which is obtained without difficulty" (Antigua and Barbuda-1982, 37).

Antigua in 1984 is recognized as one of the major Caribbean yachting centres, due to the existence of English Harbour. During 1982, 2,150 yachts carrying 9,199 persons visited the island (Antigua 1980, 3), and an average of 73 anchored and 29 berthed vessels could be found at English Harbour at any given time (Antigua 1980, 21). The marked seasonal fluctuations in the sector is illustrated by the 1984 Antigua boating statistics, which record a total of 508 yachts during the peak month of April. In contrast, 58, 31, and 63 visits were

respectively recorded in August, September and October, which are regarded as months of high hurricane risk (Devas 1983, 29). Due to the popularity of the harbour as a port-of-call, an "English Harbour Authority" has been established to oversee and maintain the facilities, which have been designated as an "official port of entry" (Antigua 1980, 8-9).

The chronic overutilization of English Harbour during the winter season has induced a spillover effect into adjacent Falmouth Harbour, where the construction of a sixty berth marina is recommended in the regional preliminary plan (Antigua 1980, 80). Presently, the Antigua Yacht Club is located on Falmouth Harbour and additional berthings have been installed at the Catamaran Hotel. Parham Harbour in the north is being developed as an alternative yachting centre (Antigua 1976) in order to relieve the pressure on English Harbour through decentralization (Sanders 1982, 49). The "Crabb's Slipway and Marina" enterprise on Crabb's Peninsula near Parham currently provides a variety of related services, and in May 1984, ten yachts were observed berthing at the facility with another twenty undergoing various drydock repairs. The overall impact of yachting in Antigua has been steadily increasing, and by 1980 the sector accounted for 2-3% of the "gross domestic product" of Antigua (Antigua 1980, 3). Boaters were estimated in that year to have generated revenues of EC\$4.6 million (US\$2 million).

primarily through repair costs and taxes (Antigua 1980, 30). In 1979, 216 individuals including 191 Antiguans were employed directly in the yachting sector, particularly in the English Harbour area (Devas 1983, 1).

The cruise ship industry currently accounts on average for 3.9% of annual tourist expenditures in Antigua (Antigua and Barbuda, table 19). Significant yearly fluctuations have characterized this sector over the past ten years, with cruise ship calls declining from 177 (113,357 excursionists) in 1981 to 95 (51,987) in 1983. Although the industry has experienced several years of consecutive decline through the early 1980's, a partial recovery is now evident, with 118 calls and 66,808 excursionists visiting in 1984. The number of disembarking passengers per vessel has increased from 260-400 in the early 1970's to 550-650 in the early 1980's, declining again to 488 in 1984. The cruise ship sector is structurally characterized more than any other sector by sporadic periods of activity (on average two or three cruise visits per week) interrupted by periods of complete inactivity. Most businesses and services therefore cannot rely exclusively upon cruise ship patronage, falling back upon other elements of the tourist industry, such as stayovers, during periods of inactivity.

Antigua ranks as a minor port-of-call in the regional context, accounting for 1.9% of Caribbean cruise expenditures, or US\$24 per excursionist, compared with

US\$107 for St. Thomas (CTRC 1983). The port of St. John's still does not provide the diversity of retail and wholesale opportunities which are available in the specialized ports-of-call, and more of an emphasis is placed upon beach visits and excursions to places of historical interest. A recent survey (CTRC 1983) revealed that one-half of all excursionists in Antigua shopped at the Harbour plaza or in the commercial core of St. John's. One-fifth of the passengers visited a beach, especially those located at Dickenson and Runaway Bays, while one-third embarked on island tours, with English Harbour as the primary destination. In summary, the "typical" excursionist remained on Antigua for eight to ten hours, occupying time in St. John's, on island tours, and on the beaches. With the exception of the Port and its specialized shopping facilities, no areas appear to be physically altered primarily as a consequence of the cruise ship industry. The lower retail core of St. John's is heavily patronized by excursionists, although the low level of per capita expenditure attests to the scarcity of appropriate shopping opportunities. A survey conducted among excursionists in 1983 further reflected the presence in St. John's of an environment insensitive and occasionally hostile to the average cruise ship visitor. Frequently cited comments stressed the abundance of street hustlers, the lack of sidewalks and street signs, high priced taxis and aggressive drivers, uncleanness, poor

roads, and harassment by beggars (OTRC 1983, 111).

Most sectors of the tourist industry are oriented towards the beachfront and marine resources of the island. and tourism related developments have been virtually confined to the littoral. No single area is dominant as a focal point of the industry, although significant concentrations of activity identify the Popeshead Coast, English Harbour and greater St. John's as the primary tourist regions. The Popeshead Coast is dominated by resort hotels, estate housing and apartments, with the greatest density of physical development and the highest land prices outside of St. John's occurring at Dickenson Bay. The visual impact of contiguous development in this and other regions has been modified by the imposition of a twenty-four foot height restriction on construction through the Land Development (Interim Control) Regulations of 1976, which effectively limits new structures to a height of three stories. In contrast to the Dickenson Bay area, the eastern portion of the Popeshead Coast, where resort tourism was first introduced after 1940, has experienced little development since the 1970's due to the inferiority of its beaches and the presence of industrial and military facilities. The Lord Nelson's Club and the Beachcomber Hotel are hemmed in by oil storage facilities and leased American military installations, thereby curtailing the possibilities for expansion, and detracting from the aesthetics of the local environment. To the

west, a continuous belt of estate housing development is emerging between Paradise View and Gamble's, interrupted only by Wetherill's estate, which has also been earmarked for subdivision (see figure 3.7). The estates at Hodge's Bay and Lower Crosbies are situated by the shore, while the remaining subdivisions occupy higher slopes at an elevation of fifty to two hundred feet above sea level.

The St. John's tourist environment is characterized by the presence of small locally controlled hotels and guest houses on the main roads beyond the downtown core. Their physical impact and potential for expansion is restricted, although the conspicuous Flamingo Hotel and casino (formerly the Michaels Mount) dominates a height of land on the eastern edge of the city. Few accommodations are available in the commercial core, which functions as the service and retail centre for the local population as well as most tourists. In particular, the section of downtown encompassing the lower reaches of Redcliffe, St. Mary's, High and Long Streets contains numerous businesses which attract a large tourist clientele. However, since most commercial activity ceases after 3:00 p.m., the lucrative entertainment sector is virtually confined to the hotels.

English Harbour constitutes Antigua's single most popular tourist attraction, while continuing to dominate the yachting sector despite recent decentralization attempts. Tourist activities are focused around the

restored Dockyards and to a lesser extent upon the associated military ruins of Shirley Heights, which offer a popular panoramic view of the Harbour and surrounding region. The Shirley Heights area alone now annually attracts 25,000 visitors (Antigua 1980, 71), who, along with various international aid organizations, continue to provide contributions to the ongoing restoration fund. In 1976, the "Historical, Recreation Sites and Conservation Committee" (HRSQC) was established as a nonstatutory advisory body responsible to the Ministry of Economic Development and Tourism for recommending priority areas in the vicinity for restoration (Antigua 1980, 7). The Friends of English Harbour in turn are responsible for the preservation and daily maintenance of the Dockyards, as well as the granting of leases and commercial licences to private business (Antigua 1980, 8).

Accommodations in the English Harbour area have tended to be unobtrusive and small in scale due to the scarcity of beachfront and the use of yachts for overnight accommodation. The Inn, the Admiral's Inn and the Catamaran Hotel together supply fifty-six units, with an additional fifty-four units available in self-catering facilities. Developmental pressures, especially from the expansion of local housing, resulted in the release of an unofficial local plan in 1980 (Antigua 1980), which also incorporated Falmouth Harbour and Mamora Bay in the planning area. Detailed zones of allowable development

intensity were identified, including an English Harbour "Core Area", a "Development Area" around Falmouth Harbour, and a surrounding "Protected Area" buffer zone encompassing local historical sites and environmentally sensitive lands (Antigua 1980, 77). In apparent contradiction to the 1976 plan, which designated English Harbour as an area of tourism expansion, the local plan suggested that "the English and Falmouth Harbours area is not a priority tourism development area, and the west coast is being given precedence in terms of infrastructural development" (Antigua 1980, 76). Like the tentative national plan of 1976, the 1980 strategy for the crucial English Harbour area has not yet been accepted as official policy, although the authors of the report (Antigua 1980, 76) echoed earlier warnings that

Whereas until now development has occurred in an uncontrolled and piecemeal manner it is clear that pressures for continued development are such that if allowed to proceed unchecked there is a danger that the asset will be spoiled and devalued.

Beyond the three main regions described above, tourist related developments are dispersed along other sections of the Antiguan coast. The undeveloped portion of coast between Coolidge airport and Long Bay has finally received attention as an area for second home and apartment development (see section 3.4.3) due to the continuation of high housing demand, and prohibitive land

costs in established areas such as Dickenson Bay. Construction has already commenced at Fitches Creek and Seaton s. while the exclusive three hundred acre offshore Long Island Resort has recently opened the first phase of a long term expansion programme (Canadian Travel Courier Nov.10, 1983, 24). In the vicinity of Mill Reef, estate houses and apartments are being constructed at Brown s Bay, where unsuccessful attempts at development were initially made in the early 1970's. The establishment of the St. James Club complex and the expansion of housing at Picadily and Crawl Point suggest the likelihood of uninterrupted future strip development in the south-east between Mill Reef and English Harbour if no restrictions are imposed. Anchored by two luxury class resorts, such a region would have to be recognized as the most exclusive tourist area of Antigua.

The Rendezvous Bay area between Dieppe Bay and Old Road is the only major portion of Antigua's coast where development is hindered by the absence of access roads, although such a link has been proposed in the preliminary Development Plan (Antigua 1976; see also figure 3.5). Along the west coast, the major individual nodes at Old Road, Jolly Beach and Five Islands are being supplemented by the Tottenham Court housing project and the forty unit Blue Heron Hotel at Crab Hill Bay. Prototype units and some channeling mark the site of the Deep Bay project at Five Islands, first proposed during the late transition

stage, but delayed by a variety of problems.

Excluding the Cedar Valley golf course and its associated estate housing, no major physical change directly related to tourism was observed in the interior of Antigua in 1984. The greater portion of this landscape is still occupied by unproductive scrub lands and pasture, and the recent attempt to revive agriculture through the designation of 3,500 prime arable acres (near the village of Pares) for sugarcane planting, in order to satisfy local requirements, has proven unsuccessful (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 14). Other estates acquired previously by the government have been subdivided into small plots and distributed to local farmers. Light manufacturing has been encouraged in an attempt to diversify the Antiguan economy, and numerous factory shells have been established along Old Parham Road and in the vicinity of Coolidge airport. Agriculture and industry, as recommended in the 1976 Plan, have thus achieved a somewhat higher presence in 1984, although tourism continues to dominate the economy. According to Richards (1982, 34);

Notwithstanding the fact that 1982 has been designated agroindustrial year by the Antigua and Barbuda government and despite national and international efforts to boost manufacturing and agriculture, it is widely accepted that tourism will play the leading role throughout the 1980 s.

The reliance upon tourism is effectively revealed in the employment structures of those local communities which

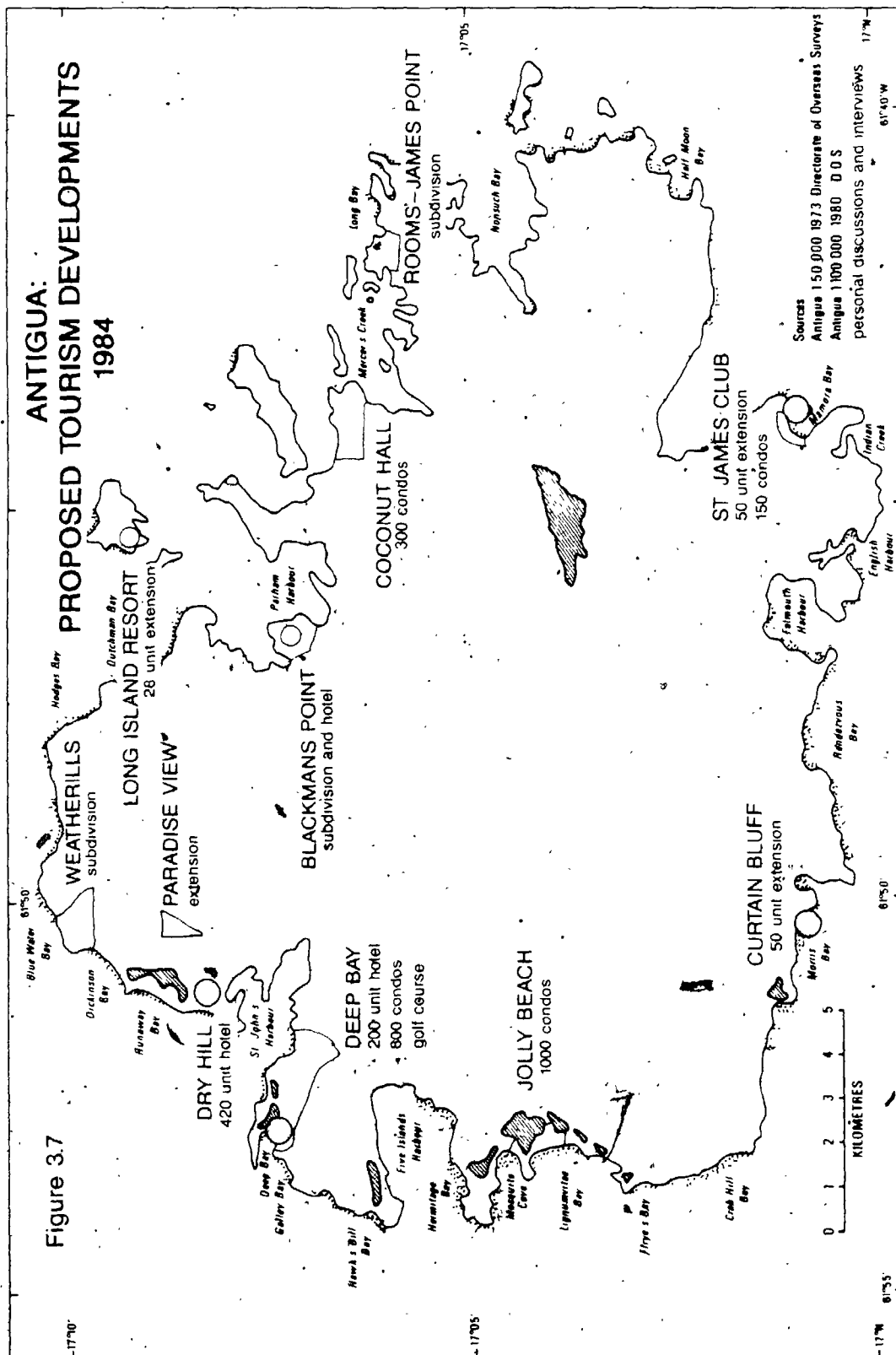
are located adjacent to major areas of tourist accommodation. In 1980, 44% of all employment in the English Harbour "catchment area", including the villages of Bethesda, Falmouth, Swetes and Liberta was directly related to tourism, and this rose to 80% when indirect job opportunities (no direct contact with tourists) were taken into account (Antigua 1980, 14-15). Other communities presumably displaying a similar pattern of employment include Cedar Grove, Willikies, Freetown, Old Road, Bolans and Five Islands. Larger settlements such as Parham and All Saints are less dependent upon tourism because of their status as relatively diverse local service centres physically removed from the main areas of tourist activity. However, commuting to hotel jobs is becoming an increasingly viable option for these village labour forces because of improved accessibility to the coast. The local communities themselves contain few services or features related directly to tourism, aside from the occasional use of churches, post offices and other primary services by tourists.

3.4.3 Proposals for Development 1984

The large amount of resort construction observed in Antigua during May 1984 attests to the continuing importance of tourism as the dominant agent of landscape change on the island. This expansion is likely to be

sustained in the foreseeable future due to the renewed strength of the North American economy and the pro-development attitude of the Antiguan government, which is attempting to maintain a 10% annual growth rate in arrivals at least until 1987 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11). In order to meet the resulting increase in demand for electricity and water, the government is supporting the installation of new generators and increased oil imports, as well as the development of alternative local energy sources. A wind powered generator has already been constructed near the village of Barnes Hill (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 20). The failure to achieve an accommodation target of 2,800 units by 1985 (Antigua and Barbuda 1982) is attributable to the postponement of the Deep Bay and Dry Hill schemes, two pending megaprojects located near St. John's. Information regarding these and other developments, unless otherwise cited, were obtained through contacts with individuals in government closely involved with the Antiguan tourist industry.

The ambitious Deep Bay project, first proposed in the 1960's, was expected to commence once again in 1983: after a September 1982 visit by Prime Minister Vere Bird to Brazil resulted in US\$90 million of private funding for the enterprise (Economist Intelligence Unit 1983, 32). A model of the project on display at Coolidge airport depicts the two hundred room hotel, the seven hundred time share units, yachting marina, golf course and shopping

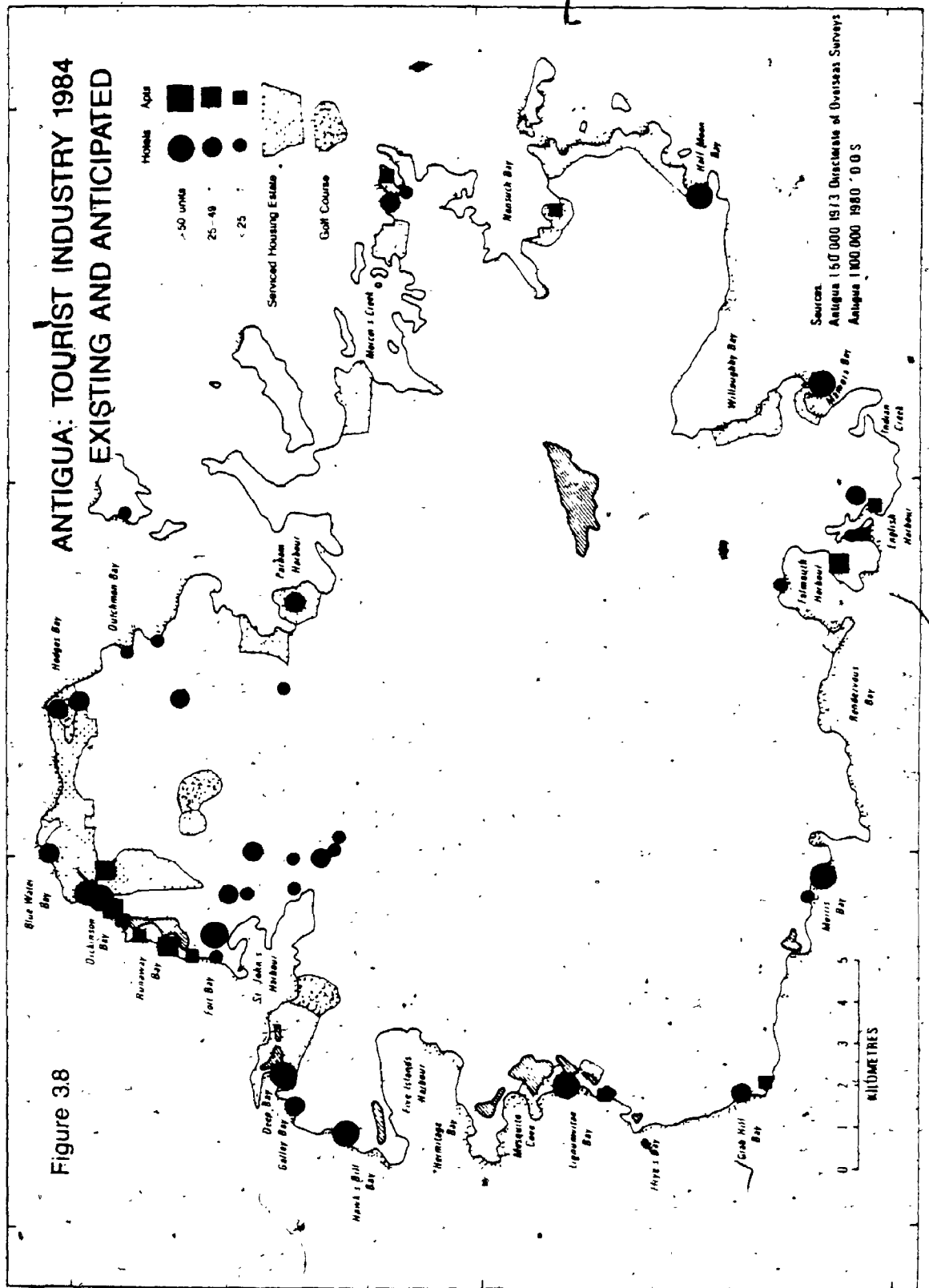


centre, all to be located on an eight-hundred acre parcel of land on the northern half of Five Islands peninsula (see figure 3.7). However, the project was again delayed, except for the construction of prototype units, due to the financial crisis in Brazil (Economic Intelligence Unit 1983, 32). At the same time, a "team of economic planners" questioned the ability of Antigua's present infrastructure to cope with a project of such magnitude (Economic Intelligence Unit 1982, 25). In 1984, a consortium of western banks assembled funds with which to carry on the development, and construction finally proceeded in 1985 (Economic Intelligence Unit 1984, 31).

The Dry Hill site on Fort James beach has been designated for a 420 unit hotel, potentially doubling the resort capacity of the Popeshead Coast (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 11). Funding for the project was obtained from a group of South Korean investors (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin April 1982, 42), although construction here too has been delayed. In the estate housing sector, a major southward extension of the Paradise View subdivision is expected along with the subdivision of Wetherills Estate for housing purposes. Additional housing and condominium projects have been proposed for Coconut Hall (three hundred condominium units), Rooms-James Point near Willikies, and Blackman's Point near Parham (including a hotel), augmenting the Fitches Creek and Seatons subdivisions already underway.

Anticipated additions to existing complexes include the enlargements of the Curtain Bluff Hotel from fifty to one hundred units, the Long Island Resort from twelve to forty units, and the St. James Club from one hundred to 150 units, in addition to the construction of 150 affiliated condominium units along Mamora Bay. Another major apartment project entails the construction of one thousand condominium units along Jolly Beach to the north of the existing hotel complex. Finally, the completion of the Old Road-Falmouth road link, if carried out, would open the presently isolated Rendezvous Bay area to development. However, no specific projects have been proposed at the present time for this area.

Most of Antigua's coastline will be occupied by tourism related land uses by the end of this century if the above proposals all materialize and the expansionist trend continues (see figure 3.8). The spatial evolution of the tourist industry in coastal Third World environments, based upon the experience of Antigua, will now be considered from a generalized theoretical perspective, after which the implications of these patterns for the process of development will be discussed.



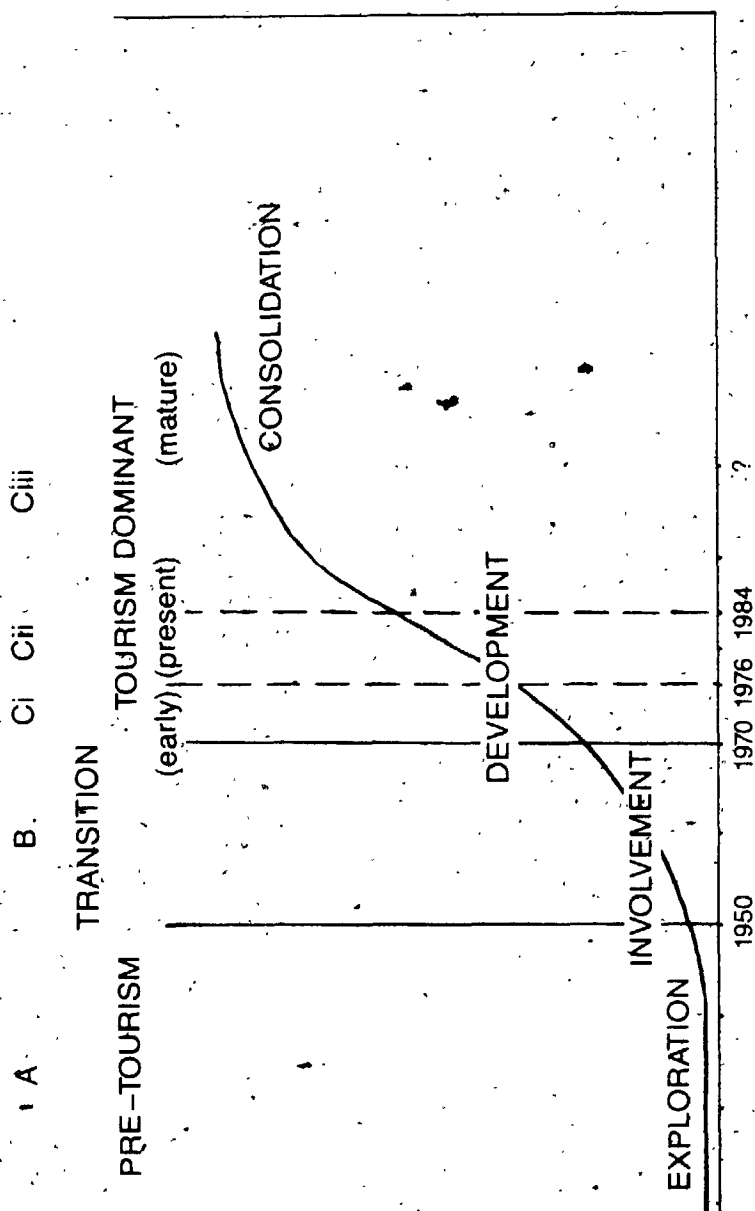
CHAPTER FOUR

THE LANDSCAPE OF HELIOTROPIC TOURISM IN THE THIRD WORLD

The previous chapter has described the role of tourism as an agent of spatial change in Antigua. At present, a distinct landscape dominated to a greater or lesser extent by tourism-related land uses appears to be emerging. If the continuing upward growth trend in visitor arrivals and the scope of forthcoming projects are reliable indications, this landscape will continue to develop, at least until the growth in visitor arrivals subsides to a level on the S-curve commensurate with Butler's "consolidation" stage (see figure 4.1). The mature tourism landscape may therefore be anticipated as the logical extension of the preceding stages, assuming that the resort cycle continues to progress normally. This chapter analyses the idealized spatial and structural evolution of the tourism landscape by modelling each of the four profiles presented in chapter three, and by following this with a model of the mature tourism

Figure 4.1

THE STAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ANTIGUA CORRELATED WITH BUTLER'S MODEL



landscape which is expected to emerge. The model assumes a normal progression of the S-curve as well as an environment perfectly suitable for heliotropic forms of tourism development. As James and Martin (1981, 382-83) indicate, models of this nature do not attempt to duplicate the real world, but rather serve to, "provide an ideal picture of a process against which the actual departures from a norm can be measured." Initially, a classification scheme is proposed which indicates the association between tourism and certain elements of landscape. Following the modelling of the profiles and an assessment of the applicability of Butler's resort cycle, tourism subtypes associated with the landscape will be considered, along with "real life" distortions of the model, and variables which influence the resort cycle.

4.1 Measurement of Impact

An ordinaly based classification scheme has been devised in order to indicate and depict the significant patterns of spatial change associated with tourism in Third World destinations such as Antigua. The following categories are employed to reveal generalized degrees of association between tourism and the landscape.

"Primary" features in the landscape include nodes, areas and networks which are primarily and directly

utilized by or for international tourists. Specialized tourist facilities such as hotels and other resorts constitute the most obvious primary element, although certain housing estates, infrastructure and other land uses (eg. golf courses, tourist attractions) may be incorporated where the dominance of tourist activity is demonstrable.

A "secondary" association identifies features which are utilized both by tourists and nontourists. Some estate housing developments may fall into this category, when the lack of ownership data, the scale of individual structures or the rapid turnover of tenure arrangements inhibit the detailed identification and depiction of primary and nontourist spaces. Supportive structures including air and sea ports, the road network, power grid and certain retail establishments are also used jointly in the more advanced stages of the resort cycle, with the balance varying according to location, season and time of day.

"Tertiary" associations reflect the indirect or invisible effects of tourism upon the landscape, in the absence of an immediate tourist presence. Mathieson and Wall (1982, 5-6) cite this indirectness as a major problem when assessing the environmental impacts of tourism, since "primary impacts give rise to secondary and tertiary impacts and generate a myriad of successive repercussions which it is usually impractical to trace and monitor".

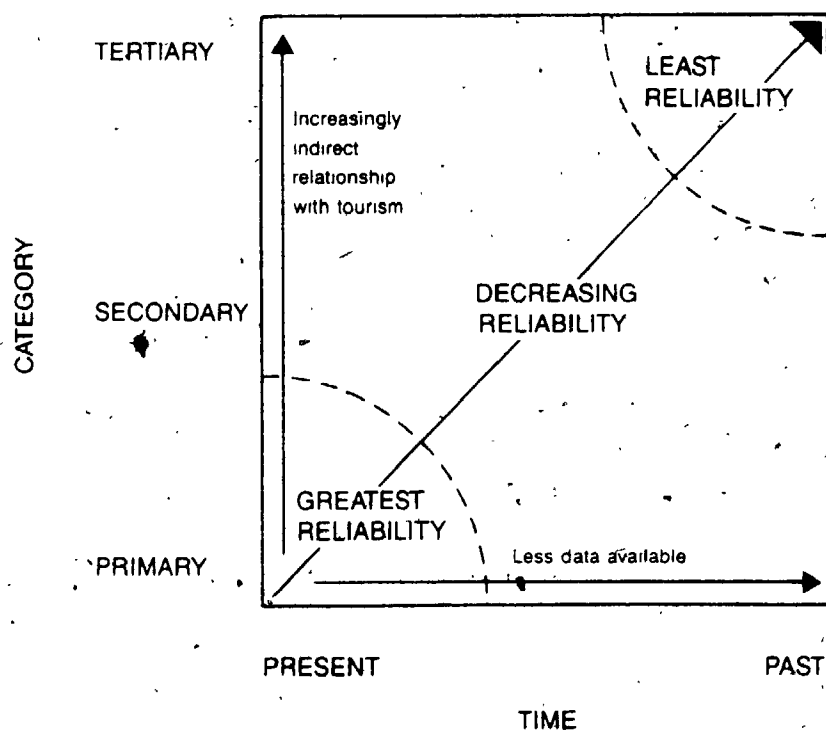
For example, although tourism in most instances is not directly associated with local housing and agricultural land use, changes in these sectors have been shown to be at least partially related to the expansion of the tourist industry, as the latter accounts for an increasing proportion of the GNP. Local housing and farmland cannot be practically classified on an individual basis, although as a generalization, the strength of the relationship tends to diminish with increased distance from areas of primary tourist activity.

Certain areas and elements may be classified as "nontourist" due to the apparent absence of a significant direct or indirect tourist impact. However, such a designation does not preclude the presence of some minor tourist activity, and may obfuscate the fact that remote mountainous areas often provide a crucial aesthetic background to the resort environment, in which case they constitute an integral visual component of the tourism landscape. The nontourist category is subdivided into remote areas which are not integrated into the space economy due to the absence of services and other links, and those integrated spaces where economic activities unrelated to tourism continue to dominate the landscape.

This simple method of classification recognizes the limitations of an incomplete and highly diverse data base which is not conducive to rigorous mathematical analysis, and is subject to a high degree of speculation and

Figure 4.2

**RELIABILITY FACTOR
BASED UPON DATA CATEGORY AND TIME**



generalization. As depicted in figure 4.2, the greatest amount of reliability may be ascribed to the identification of primary features existing at the present time, since these elements and areas of obvious tourist activity were directly observed. In contrast, the historical record becomes increasingly sparse and nonverifiable prior to the 1970's, particularly when data concerning the indirect impacts, or tertiary features of tourism, are sought. The classification scheme therefore does not define strict class boundaries, but recognizes that features within a particular category may vary from "strong" to "weak" in their association with tourism. These ordinal classes are depicted using a dot matrix choropleth technique, with increased density indicating a more direct relationship with tourism. To the author's knowledge, no other methodologies of tourism association have yet been devised. Further refinements of the methodology will be possible with the availability of a more comprehensive data base which expresses in quantitative terms the degree of association between elements of landscape and tourism.

4.2 Symbolic Stage Representations

The evolution of the heliotropic tourism landscape is presented through a sequence of idealized stages, beginning with the pre-tourist, and continuing with the

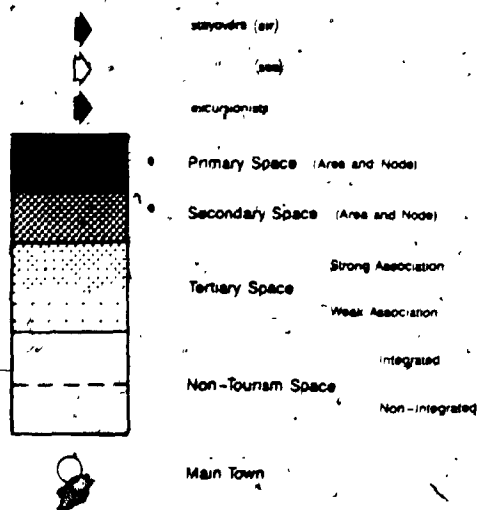
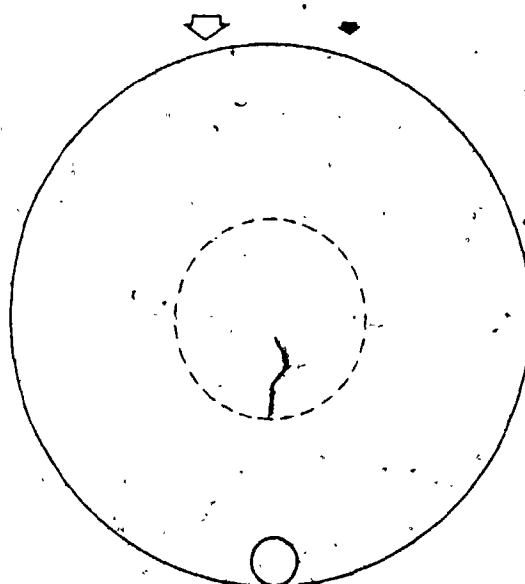
transition and the tourist dominant. The latter combines the 1973 and 1984 profiles, since the differences between them are based upon intensity rather than kind. The mature landscape model which follows represents the culmination of the resort cycle, occurring at a time during the tourism dominant stage when visitor arrivals are consolidated at their peak. Postmaturity scenarios based on Butler's resort cycle model will subsequently be considered, particularly in so far as they imply a deviation from the spatial pattern of the mature tourism landscape model.

4.2.1 Pre-Tourism

The initial entry of tourists into the coastal Third World environment is made possible with the settlement of the area by colonists, soldiers and other nontourists, who establish a level of accessibility conducive to casual visits by a small number of "explorer" and "existentialist" tourists. As depicted in figure 4.3, these arrive mainly by sea, while air arrivals become significant during the latter part of the stage. The arrows which depict these patterns of arrival are not directed towards specific nodes in the destination, although it may be assumed that sea arrivals utilize the seaport of the main town, and that the airport is reasonably accessible to this dominant centre.

Figure 4.3

PRE-TOURISM MODEL



Visitor activities during the pre-tourist stage are accommodated within the integrated space economy of export agriculture which emerges during the colonization process, and because of low demand, few facilities cater specifically to tourists. The visitor to the early pre-tourist destination area therefore utilizes a mode of transportation which is oriented to trade or some other function, disembarks at a port developed for the handling of imports and raw good exports, travels along a road network which links the farming estates with the port, and stays overnight in an estate "great house" or other more modest forms of accommodation.

Figure 4.3 reflects the low environmental impact of tourism which characterizes the initial stage of the resort cycle. Due to the infrequency of tourist activity and its dispersal throughout the integrated portions of the landscape where the components of the plantation system are located, the entire area is classified as nontourist except for isolated rural resorts and a few minor hotels in the main towns which are not depicted. The small specialized facilities which are often established in the urban centres cater to visitors attracted by the existence of services and transportation infrastructure, such as the main port. For example, references were made to an unidentified "hotel" in St. John's, as early as 1840, while the Globe and Kensington facilities are cited frequently throughout the early

1900's. Similar pre-tourism patterns of accommodation are apparent on other Caribbean islands. The tourist-related accommodations on the island of Tobago in 1912 were, like Antigua, restricted to two "boarding houses" in the main town of Scarborough (Trinidad and Tobago 1912, 128).

Tourism may be characterized as an infrequent and passive activity during the initial stage of development, adapting itself to the amenities and facilities of a landscape associated with an externally created plantation economy. Specialized facilities are established in certain locations where sufficient demand is generated, particularly in the core areas of the main settlements. However, such primary and secondary associations are generally too weak and local to warrant inclusion in the model.

4.2.2 Transition

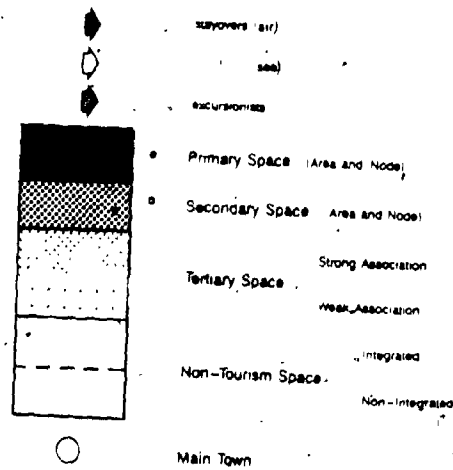
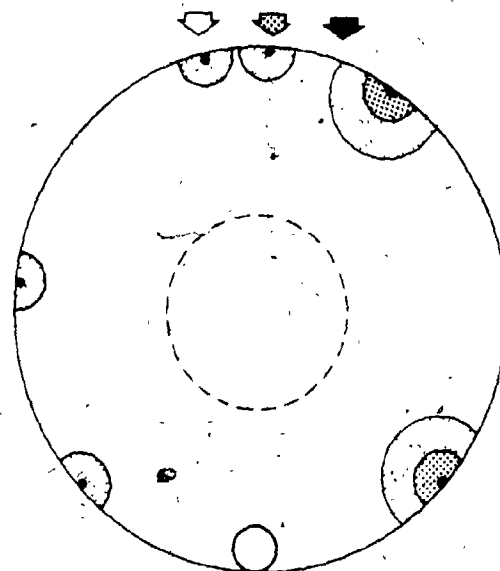
The landscape of transition reflects the temporary co-dominance of agriculture and tourism as contributors to the GNP of the destination. In respect to the increase in visitor arrivals, the transition period parallels the "involvement" stage of Butler's resort cycle (see figure 4.1). Tourism emerges as an active, though initially limited agent of landscape change, with primary, secondary and tertiary associations all evident. For example, primary resort nodes are established along the coast for

the first time as the emerging external demand for recreation resources focuses upon marine and beach environments suitable for heliotropic forms of tourism (see figure 4.4). Certain favourably situated "great houses", having lost their viability as centres of agricultural production, may be converted into hotels, while other resorts are newly constructed as specialized tourist facilities. Resort location in a particular destination is influenced by accessibility to services, site suitability, ownership, access to beachfront, and a variety of additional idiosyncratic considerations (see section 4.5.2).

Significant secondary associations emerge in the transition stage as tourists account for an increasing proportion of infrastructural (road, airport, power and water) use. Improvements and expansions in these systems are often justified because of their growing supportive links with tourism, although nontourist sectors and individuals continue to utilize them as well. A growing number of visitors arrive by air, while sea arrivals stabilize, excepting the emergence of an incipient cruise ship traffic. Estate housing developments appear in the landscape as important secondary features which use relatively large amounts of land to accommodate residential tourists and local elites. These developments tend to locate in the coastal areas, occasionally in spatial association with hotels, although the two sectors

Figure 4.4

TRANSITION MODEL



do not usually compete for space because of differing site preferences and rents. The core of the main town is also represented as a secondary feature due to its importance as a service centre for both the local and tourist sectors.

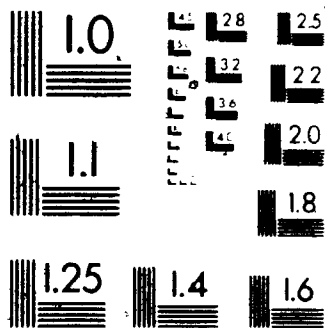
Tertiary effects become evident in the vicinity of the larger resorts as a significant proportion of the local labour force is diverted from agriculture to the relatively more lucrative opportunities of the tourist industry. The viability of certain coastal areas for agricultural production is reduced in part as a consequence of these diversions, while detrimental effects of tourism induced land speculations and inflation are also apparent. However, agriculture continues to dominate the employment and land use structures in areas beyond these relatively small zones of tourist influence, which thereby retain a nontourist classification. Difficulties associated with agriculture in these areas are attributable more to inherent structural problems than to the indirect influence of tourism.

4.2.3 Tourism Dominant

The early and present phases of the tourism dominant stage are characterized by a consistent increase in visitor arrivals commensurate with Butler's "development" period (see figure 4.1). By this time, stayover arrivals

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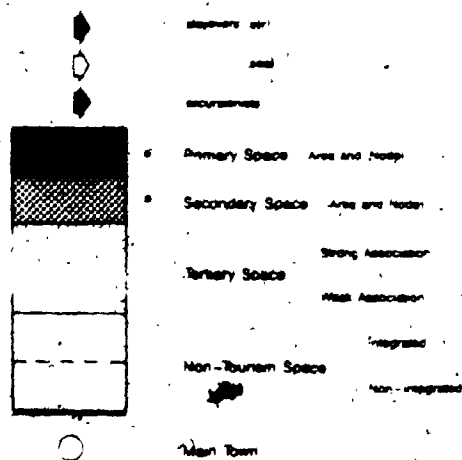
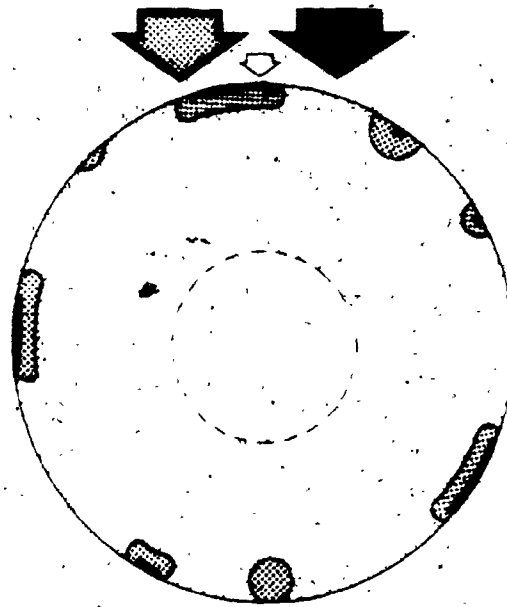


by sea are negligible, while air arrivals and cruise ship excursionists display large absolute and relative increases. Through the addition and expansion of hotels, self-catering apartments and residential tourist housing developments, primary nodes coalesce in certain favourable areas to form continuous belts of tourist activity. However, large segments of coastline continue to remain free from development despite the introduction of new nodes in dispersed locations (see figure 4.5). Such concentrations were discernable in Antigua along Dickenson and Runaway Bays by 1973 (see figure 3.5). Subsequent to the increased intensity of tourist activity, the secondary status associated with some elements of infrastructure increases, and large scale improvements and expansions of port facilities, road networks and other services are often undertaken in order to accommodate or attract a larger tourist influx. The secondary estate housing sector also expands as members of the local elite seek residences in such developments.

The landscape of the hinterland beyond the coastal tourist ecumene reflects the dominance of tourism over the local economy. Tertiary effects which result in visible impacts upon the land include the pervasive decline of agricultural production and the creation of local labour forces heavily dependent upon tourism-related employment opportunities. The intensity of these widespread tertiary impacts diminishes towards the interior, terminating at

Figure 45

TOURISM DOMINANT MODEL (EARLY)



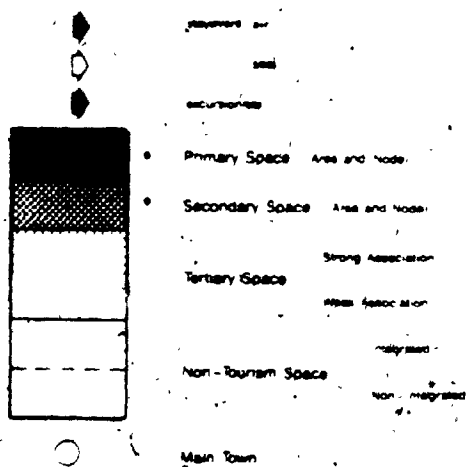
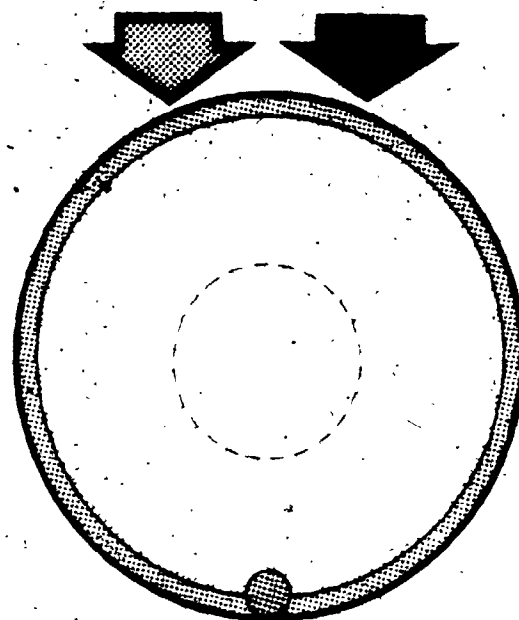
the boundaries of the remaining unintegrated spaces which are for the most part uninhabited. Due to scale, the main town is still classified as a secondary feature jointly utilized by tourists and the local population, although a detailed analysis would likely reveal discrete spaces monopolized by one group or the other.

4.2.4 The Mature Tourism Landscape

A mature tourism landscape characterized by five concentric zones of activity will eventually emerge in the small scale destination (see figure 4.6), assuming that visitor arrivals continue to increase in accordance with the normal S-curve. Along the coast, tourism developments spread into the formerly less desirable areas to a point where the entire coastline is occupied by a narrow belt of primary space. This contiguity is interrupted only by the main urban centre, which is generalized as a secondary feature. The narrowness of the primary belt results from the practical necessity of shoreline proximity for resort developments. High land prices generated by this demand result in higher density development, except in areas where exclusive residential tourist enclaves have been established. In either instance, coastal sites in a laissez-faire investment environment are usually acquired by expatriate tourist interests; because of their ability to outbid local sources of capital for the best locations.

Figure 4.6

TOURISM DOMINANT MODEL (MATURE)



The adjacent belt of secondary space includes estate housing developments populated in varying proportions by long term residential tourists and local elites. Reduced land values in comparison with the coast are conducive to a lower density of development, and immediate ocean accessibility does not rank as a priority consideration for many residential tourists. Further, the inland location frequently offers favourable site characteristics (eg. exposure to cooling trade winds and scenic views), often unavailable at sea level. Other forms of secondary land use which require large amounts of accessible space, such as golf courses and airports, also occur in this zone. The airport is utilized by the vast majority of stayover arrivals, while the main seaport is significant for tourists only as a facility for cruise ships.

The tertiary belt, which incorporates the largest amount of space, is occupied by abandoned agricultural estates, small scale farms, rural settlements and minor nontourist economic activities. The strength of the tertiary association decreases with distance from the coast in a distance-decay relationship, with certain villages near the larger resorts being heavily dependent upon wages generated through tourism related employment, particularly during the winter season. Aside from incidences of "family" tourism (see section 4.4.6), visits by allocentric tourists, countryside tours and the

presence of specific attractions, the tertiary zone is characterized by the overall absence of tourist activities and facilities. In this respect, the area resembles a pre-tourism stage of development, although the presence of significant indirect impacts precludes further comparison.

Remnant nonintegrated spaces in the interior remain functionally external to the tourism landscape, although some areas may become involved into the tourist industry through the establishment of national parks and wilderness reserves. For example, the Caribbean national parks of Dominica (Cracknell 1973) and St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands (Olweg 1980) have been "developed" as controlled attractions catering to a specialized segment of the tourist market. Smaller nontourist spaces may occur in more accessible integrated areas, accommodating small scale manufacturing, military facilities, viable farmland and other land uses which are not significantly influenced by tourism (see section 4.4.2).

Together with the primary and secondary zones, the offshore environment constitutes the tourist ecumene of the heliotropically oriented tourism "landscape". While specific offshore attractions such as coral reefs and shipwrecks are important to the tourist industries of particular destinations (for example the Cayman Islands), it is the overall existence of a marine environment suitable for swimming, sailing and diving which underlies the viability of heliotropic tourism. For these reasons,

an offshore belt of activity is included in figure 4.6. The contrast between the highly developed tourist ecumene (with its inclusion of the local elites) and the dependent "local" areas of the interior suggests the existence of a dualistic landscape (see chapter five). The developmental implications of this apparent dichotomy will be examined in chapter five.

Highly developed tourist ecumenes, typical of mature tourism landscapes, already occur in certain coastal areas of western Europe and North America, where a relatively long history of landscape modification attributable to tourism is evident. Stansfield (1970) and Zimolcak and Stansfield (1979, 431) have been cited in section 1.5 for their observations concerning the extent of recreational shoreline utilization in Great Britain and along the eastern seaboard of the United States. Within these developed regions, the Atlantic coast of Florida suggests a pattern of high density development which may eventually be repeated in physically similar areas of the Third World. Portions of the North African coast, several Bahamian islands (New Providence and Grand Bahama) and the north coast of Jamaica are currently experiencing large amounts of physical development, and there is good reason to suppose that the coastal areas of Antigua will be fully exploited for recreational purposes in the near future, given the circumstances associated with island's tourist industry in the past and present. However, because of the

"plantation" effect in certain parts of the Third World, distinct landscapes and variations in the resort cycle model might be anticipated (see section 4.3). Additional empirical investigation is necessary in order to test whether a distinct model is applicable to the Third World plantation context.

4.2.5 Post-Maturity Scenarios

The mature tourism landscape will eventually be succeeded by other spatial forms as the process of spatial change continues. Butler (1980) discusses the three basic possibilities of decline, rejuvenation and stability as ongoing stages in the resort cycle (see figure 1.6). A serious decline in arrivals may occur if the physical, infrastructural and/or social carrying capacities of the destination are exceeded, resulting in a less attractive tourism product. An additional, though less likely scenario entails the long term decline in the overall travel market demand, which would negatively affect all or most destinations. In either case, major adjustments in the relationship between the man-made environment and tourism would occur. Initially, most specialized resort facilities would either be closed or converted into local housing, with only a few retaining their commercial

viability for tourism. Secondly, new activities would be pursued as tourism relinquished its dominant status in the GNP. Agriculture reappears as the most likely option for most Third World destinations, although offshore finance and light manufacturing are also possible. The net result is a landscape model similar to the transition stage, where a restricted pool of primary facilities situated in the best areas is accompanied by limited secondary and tertiary impacts, with nontourism space dominating once again.

A second possibility entails the rejuvenation of the destination after a period of stability or decline. This may result from conscious local efforts to improve the tourism product through beautification projects, infrastructural improvements or the introduction of new activities such as gambling (see Stansfield 1978: for a discussion on gambling and the rejuvenation of Atlantic City, New Jersey). In such a scenario, the concentric rings may expand as the direct and indirect influence of tourism once again increases. The character of the tourist ecumene itself may also change to reflect new types of demand. A major conversion from hotels to self-catering apartments, and the establishment of gambling casinos are two possibilities. Changes of this nature are of course also possible when the destination experiences the third option of continued stability, in which case the model would not significantly change.

However, local adjustments may occur as certain areas within the destination rise or fall in popularity. Caribbean examples of local decline which have not significantly affected the overall model include the loss of hotels in the core of St. John's, Antigua and the closure or conversion of resorts in the Scarborough-Bacolet Bay area of Tobago (Weaver 1981).

Any discussion of the above scenarios as they pertain to Antigua are at best speculative, since the island's tourist industry has yet to reach maturity. Third World destinations which have gone beyond the consolidation phase should be identified and investigated in order to model the subsequent resort cycle stages.

4.3 Theoretical Contribution of the Model

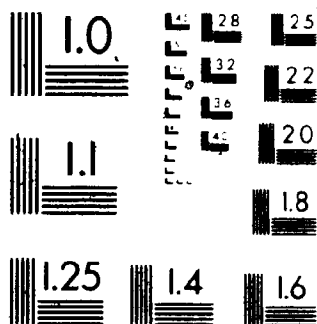
Taken individually, the models presented in section 1.7.2 do not adequately characterize the spatial evolution of tourism in Third World destinations, particularly where the "plantation system" has been dominant. In providing such a model, the present study contributes to the theory underlying the geography of tourism in peripheral areas.

The study accepts the underlying temporal validity of the S-curve, but modifies and elaborates in a Third World context the stages proposed by Butler (see figure 1.6).

The study subsequently presented spatial models for each

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modifications to Butler's resort cycle will be necessary here as well.

In addition to modifying and elaborating upon the resort cycle, the mature landscape model possesses several characteristics which are not depicted in the spatial models of Miossec (figure 1.8) and Mathieson and Wall (1982). First, changing volumes and modes of passenger arrival are depicted, thereby recognizing the major dynamic input into the system which allows the tourism landscape to evolve. Unlike figure 1.8, the evolution of internal transport linkages is not considered. Another important feature is the formation of continuous concentric rings which identify decreasing levels of involvement with tourism as distance from the coast increases. A similar process is apparent at the scale of the urban coastal resort in the model of Mathieson and Wall, while Miossec (figure 1.8) includes the formation of primary nodes in the interior. Thirdly, the offshore is recognized as an integral part of the tourist ecumene, suggesting that the discussion of heliotropic tourism space cannot be confined to the land. Further, the distinction between integrated and non-integrated spaces within the destination is acknowledged, with nontourist space eventually being confined to the latter as the indirect impacts of tourism come to pervade the entire economic landscape. Fifth, a single dominant urban centre on the coast is included as a normal component of the

model. Finally, a dichotomy between the elite coast (primary and secondary space) and the local interior (tertiary space) is discerned, the implications of which will be considered in chapter 5. Miossec (figure 1.8) similarly recognizes the likelihood of segregation and dualism during his third stage of development.

The model does not attempt to address the process of tourism evolution throughout the entire Third World, nor in all areas of the pleasure periphery. Foremost, the emphasis is on small scale coastal areas, particularly where the plantation system has been implemented. The study, and the model which arises from it, demonstrates the existence of fundamental spatial similarities and links between tourism and the plantation system. Additional empirical study is necessary in order to assess the validity of the model in non-plantation areas of the underdeveloped world.

4.4 Tourism Subtypes

In order to maintain the simplicity of the landscape model in section 4.2, no attempt was made to differentiate among the primary recreational activities which occur within the tourist ecumene. These tourism types, based on figure 1.4, will now be examined, emphasizing their changing character through the resort cycle and their

overall development within the Caribbean, which is the region most affected by the tourist industry.

4.4.1 Cruise Ship Excursionism

The cruise ship sector constitutes an important and expanding component of heliotropic Third World tourism, particularly in the Caribbean, where favourable climatic and physical circumstances and regional proximity to the North American market create ideal conditions for recreational cruising. Cruise ship activity has been associated with the Caribbean since the late nineteenth century, when the Quebec Line offered leisure motivated excursions to the Leeward Islands as a supplement to its regular cargo services. The frequency of visits increased after World War Two with the decline of trans-Atlantic Oceanic services, which compelled the luxury lines to establish shorter, term alternative itineraries within the Caribbean, directed towards the North American market. In absolute numbers, the sector presently dominates visitor arrival statistics for certain destinations (see appendix 1). However, a more accurate evaluation of relative impact is revealed through the tourist-day calculation, whereby total stayovers in Antigua achieve a value of approximately one million, using an average length of stay weight of 7.5 days (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, Table 19),

while the cruise ship value remains at 100,000, since excursionists by definition visit the destination for a period of less than twenty-four hours. Relative expenditures reveal an even greater discrepancy between the two sectors, with excursionists in 1981 accounting for US\$3.9 million, compared with stayover revenues of US\$42.5 million (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, Table 19).

During the pre-tourism stage, cruise ship visits to a particular destination are hindered by inadequate port facilities, the priority given to freighters and the lack of specialized shopping opportunities. The transition stage is characterized by attempts to expand or convert port facilities for cruise ship accommodation, inducing in turn the establishment of specialized retail districts in the commercial core or at the point of disembarkation. A hierarchy of cruise ship ports representing various stages of development has emerged in the Caribbean, with St. Thomas (US Virgin Islands), San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Nassau (Bahamas) occupying dominant positions in 1976 at 640, 427 and 397 calls respectively. At the other extreme, Roseau (Dominica) and Scarborough (Tobago) each reported less than ten calls (Stansfield 1978ii, 19). If this structure behaves in the same manner as an urban hierarchy, the less important ports may never develop to the same extent as St. Thomas or Nassau, even though other elements of the tourist industry in those destinations might reflect a higher state of development.

In the mature landscape model, the main port town is identified as the focal point for cruise ship activity, with primary and secondary physical modifications occurring in the form of port infrastructure adjustments and the establishment of specialized shopping districts. Tertiary impacts, while locally important, are limited by the short duration of stay. However, the periodic concentration of a large number of excursionists in the commercial core may result in social and infrastructural pressures disproportionate to their economic impact. The trend curves for excursionist and stayover arrivals are usually similar, although certain destinations such as St. Thomas (US Virgin Islands) are oriented more towards the former.

Despite the magnitude of the Caribbean cruise ship industry and its growth in other parts of the "pleasure periphery", few studies have addressed the spatial characteristics of the sector in detail at a local or regional scale. Stansfield (1978:11) has offered the most comprehensive academic enquiry to date, while the contribution of Lawton (forthcoming) should prove valuable. The bulk of existing research has been carried out within a nonacademic context directed towards the industry itself, emphasizing the compilation of data for marketing purposes (see for example CTCRC 1983). Similar observations may be made for the yachting, self-catering, and residential tourism sectors.

4.4.2 Yachting

Unlike the cruise ship sector, the yachting industry in the Caribbean is primarily a post World War Two phenomenon initiated by a small number of individual pioneers, including C. Mitchell (1948), V.E.B. Nicholson (Slater 1968, 158) and others (see Hart and Stone 1976, 307). The initial diffusion of yachting from the Mediterranean to the Caribbean became possible with the return of peacetime sailing conditions, while vessels constructed with new technologies in the postwar period were better capable of withstanding the hazardous trans-Atlantic crossing (Sanders 1982, 48). Although the potential of the region as an ideal sailing ground soon became apparent, various obstacles hindered its large scale utilization. According to Hart and Stone (1976, vii),

Yachtsmen have for years been aware of these attributes, but until the last decade or so there have been few with adequate experience, staunch enough vessels, and sufficient time at their disposal to make the relatively long open-water hops necessary to reach this coveted cruising region. Until recently, too, the logistical problems of keeping supplied with water and fuel, and of finding people and places for repairs and maintenance, have been a decided obstacle.

Accessibility related problems were surmounted with the establishment of the charter concept by V.E.B. Nicholson

and others, whereby users were flown from North America and Europe to Caribbean islands from which yachts could be rented. Boat ownership was therefore no longer a prerequisite for sailing, and the ocean crossing was avoided. In response, a series of specialized service centres began to emerge throughout the Caribbean, permitting the sailors to "island hop" while maintaining a high degree of flexibility unhampered by major uncertainties or risks.

Three major "cruising grounds" in the Caribbean have emerged, encompassing the north-central Bahamas, eastern Puerto Rico-Virgin Islands, and a segment of the Lesser Antilles extending from Antigua to Grenada (Hart and Stone 1976, vii). Charter yachting has evolved into a major activity in several destinations, constituting in the British Virgin Islands the dominant component of tourism. The number of yachts based in this centrally located archipelago has increased from 93 in 1973, six years after the inception of charter yachting in the colony, to over 300 in 1983. The government continues to encourage this expansion, on the premise that sailing constitutes a relatively unobtrusive though profitable form of tourism confined mainly to the offshore (Lett 1983, 37). However, the economic viability of the sector is affected by a high degree of seasonality attributable to the summer hurricane season.

Yachting, like the cruise ship sector, tends to be

locally significant as an agent of landscape change in a given destination, with the establishment of major facilities contingent upon the availability of a suitable environment for large scale docking under a variety of climatic conditions. For example, English Harbour served as a natural magnet attracting yacht related services, and this was accompanied soon after by the growth of overnight accommodations and local housing. In certain instances such as Gros Islet in northern St. Lucia (United Kingdom 1981), the environment for berthing is man-made, having been constructed in conjunction with related housing and resort developments. These areas represent nodes of local significance in the hierarchy of sailing centres, contrasting with major regional centres such as English Harbour.

4.4.3 Short Term Resort Tourism

The dominant mode of tourism on most Caribbean islands consists of stayover visitors who utilize hotel accommodation and remain in the destination for five days to two weeks, a period of time normally coinciding with an average North American or European winter vacation. This sector accounts for over one-half of all tourist days in Antigua, and a similar proportion of revenues. On the basis of facility size, price and location, several subcategories can be identified, forming a hierarchy of

accommodation types.

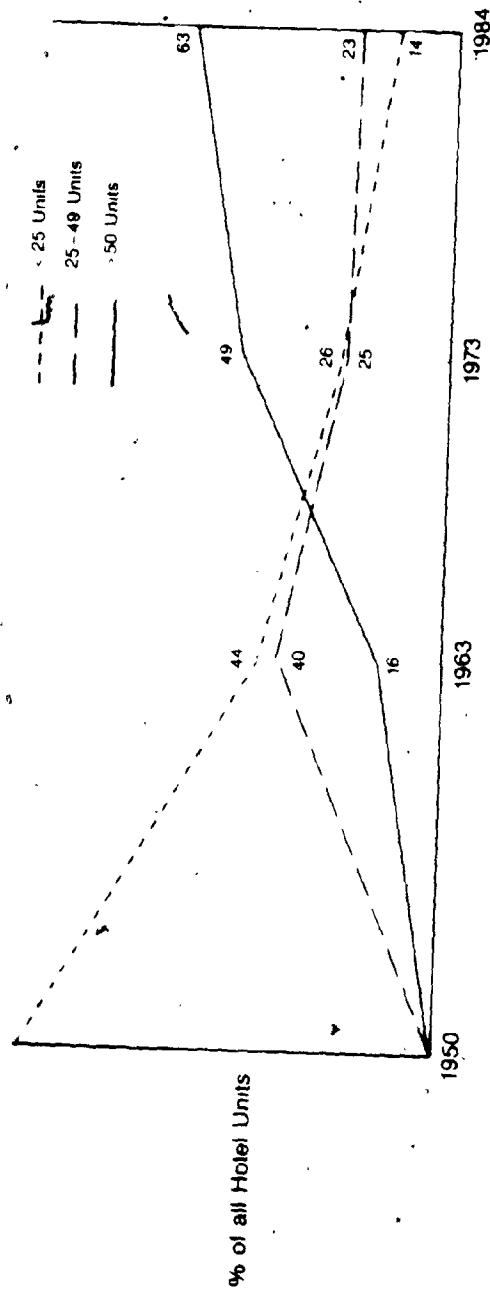
Guesthouses comprise one extreme because of their small size, local ownership, low prices and concentration in "local" urban areas. Relevant data are scarce, but guesthouses appear to contribute significantly to revenues and accommodation totals only in the pre-tourism or transition stages, prior to the dominance of large integrated resorts. For example, the proportion of tourist beds accounted for by guesthouses in 1972 ranged from 1% in the Cayman Islands and 2% in Nassau (Bahamas) to 15% in relatively underdeveloped Dominica and St. Kitt's, and a maximum of 22% in Haiti (Shankland and Cox 1974, 18). These variations may be due in part to dissimilar definitions of accommodation type by each country, especially in Haiti. Despite their relative unimportance, guesthouses continue to occupy a niche in the accommodation spectrum of the mature landscape because of their appeal to low budget and allocentric travellers, and to small scale local entrepreneurs who wish to become involved in the tourist industry.

Occupying a higher position in the hierarchy, locally owned facilities of small and medium size are also found mainly in the urban areas, catering to "business" tourists for whom beachfront access is not a major priority. The stereotype of heliotropic tourism, however, is rooted in the image of the beachfront resort hotel. These predominantly foreign owned facilities range in magnitude

from the small, exclusive "hideaway" resort to the large scale and fully integrated resort complex managed on an "economies of scale" principle. Large hotels often occur in conjunction with other heliotropic land uses, including housing and golf courses, which in total encompass large amounts of space when compared with the available land resources of the small island destination. As anticipated by Butler (1980, 8), increases in average hotel size are logically associated with the influx of "mass" tourists during the "development" stage of the resort cycle. In the case of Antigua, the proportion of hotel units contained within large (over fifty rooms) facilities has increased from 0% in 1950 to 16% in 1963, 49% in 1973 and 63% in 1984, as depicted in figure 4.7. These increases have occurred primarily through the expansion of existing facilities and secondly through the establishment of "instant" resorts, such as that planned for Deep Bay. Trends within the Caribbean as a whole tend to substantiate the positive correlation between large hotels and the more advanced stages in the resort cycle. The profiles of relatively undeveloped Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Turks and Caicos Islands for 1972 (see figure 4.8) resemble the early transition stage in Antigua, with no hotels larger than fifty rooms present. In contrast, Jamaica (especially in the vicinity of Montego Bay and Kingston), the Bahamas (Nassau and Freeport), Puerto Rico (San Juan) and Bermuda have a high

Figure 4.7

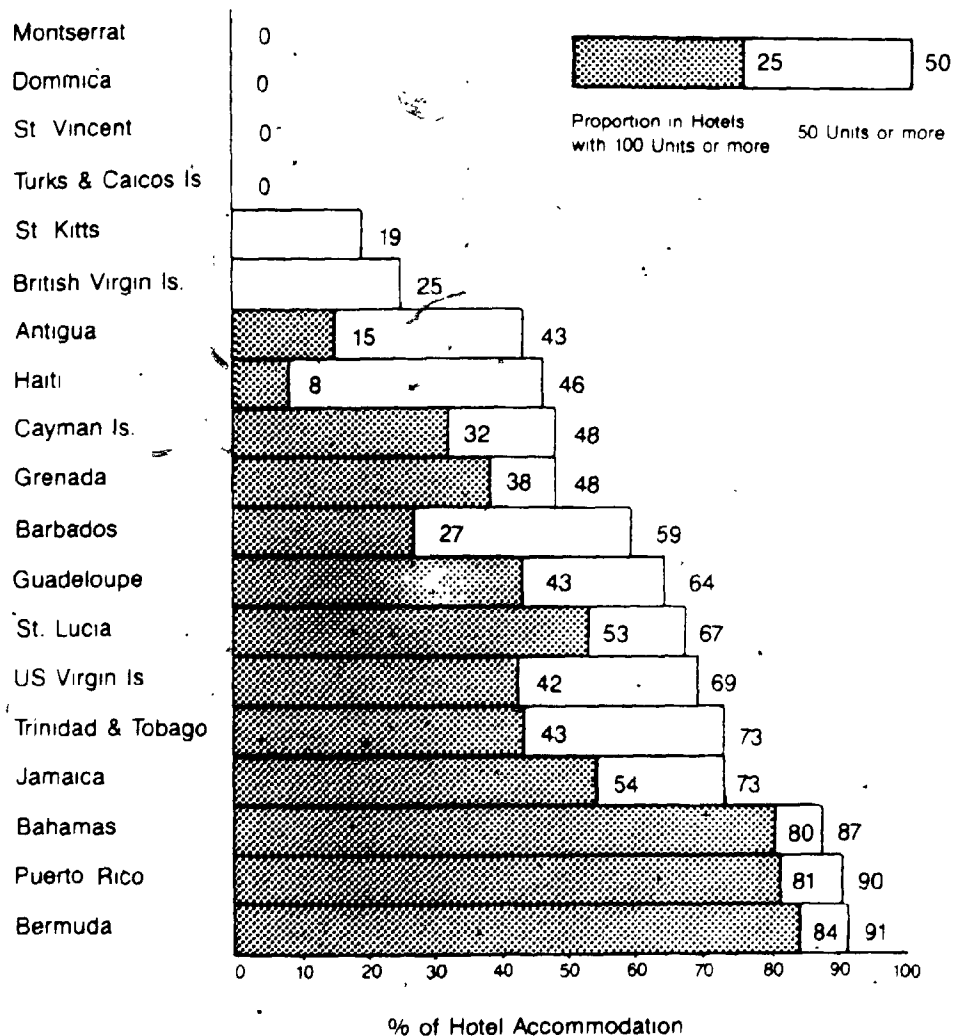
DISTRIBUTION OF HOTEL UNITS IN ANTIGUA BY SIZE OF FACILITY
1950-1984



Source: Appendices 4.7

Figure 4.8

**PROPORTION OF TOURIST ACCOMMODATION
IN HOTELS CONTAINING AT LEAST 50 UNITS
BY SELECTED CARIBBEAN DESTINATIONS 1972**



Source: Shankland Cox 1974, Table 1k

proportion of accommodations accounted for in facilities exceeding one hundred units in size.

The resort cycle is characterized by significant changes in the means by which stayover tourists reach the destination. The volume of tourist arrivals in the pre-tourism stage is restricted by poor accessibility and the use of steamship as the dominant mode of tourist conveyance. During the same stage, incipient air transportation is introduced, although this does not become significant until the transition phase. Improvements in airport infrastructure provides access for jet aircraft, resulting in a much increased volume of stayover arrivals. Concurrently, the focus of tourist arrival shifts from the main seaport facilities to an airport which must be subsequently enlarged (for example Coolidge airport in Antigua) or replaced (Pearls airport in Grenada was replaced by Point Salines airport in 1985, in order to accommodate jet traffic. A wave-like succession of transportation modes is apparent as the stages progress, with a small segment of the tourist market continuing to arrive by steamship or small aircraft during the tourism dominant stage.

4.4.4 Residential Tourism

Visitors who utilize residential tourist accommodations comprise the smallest category of tourist

on most Caribbean islands. However, the long average length of stay results in a high tourist day calculation which indicates a potential socio-economic impact disproportionate to absolute numbers. The "typical" residential tourist is a semi-retired white North American who vacations in his own Caribbean second home during the winter months. Henshall (1977, 76) states that the motives of this group tend to gravitate towards the passive end of the activity spectrum, accounting in part for the acceptability of a building site removed from the beachfront;

Retirement rather than recreation is generally the reason for investment in a Caribbean second home... The prospective second-home owner looks to the Caribbean for warmth, clean air and tranquility, and the recreational possibilities are less important to him than to the average tourist. Consequently, second homes do not compete with the demand of hotels for beach frontages...

Large scale residential tourism in the Caribbean has a recent origin, although precedents are discernable in the nineteenth century. Henshall (1977, 75) identifies three stages of development, beginning with the construction of second homes in the hills by local elites in order to escape the heat and diseases indigenous to the coast. A similar process has been identified in Jamaica by Berman (1975, 355). Following World War I, expatriate elites began to seek relief from winter in the tropical climates, forming small exclusive residential colonies

such as Mill Reef. Larger and less restrictive developments ensued in the third stage, incorporating a wider variety of accommodation types. This expansion of the Caribbean residential tourist market was stimulated by, and in turn encouraged the publication of numerous guidebooks directed towards prospective settlers. Included among these were Edson's "Retiring to the Caribbean" (1964) and "Living in the Changing Caribbean" by Gladwin (1970). However, Bryden (1973, 41) remarked as recently as the early 1970's that "very little reliable information is available on this aspect of tourism, which is generally not as yet of great importance in the... region as a whole".

Residential tourism has expanded rapidly throughout the Caribbean since 1970, although relevant data are still largely unavailable. Excepting the examination of Montserrat by Henshall (1977), the sector has yet to be examined in detail by geographers, despite the obvious spatial impacts. In terms of the resort cycle, Henshall's first two phases appear to characterize the pre-tourism and transitional stages of development, when local elites and wealthy expatriots establish residences, while the third phase typifies the tourism dominant destination area. Most Caribbean islands (with the possible exception of Dominica) now host at least some long term tourist oriented housing developments, and certain case studies effectively illustrate their potential impact as large

scale landscape modifiers. For example, the Lucaya Cay project on Grand Bahama Island involved the transformation of an uninhabited scrubland into a major housing and resort development within a ten year period (compare United Kingdom 1963 with United Kingdom 1975). An even more grandiose scheme seriously considered for the British Virgin Island of Anegada would entail the construction of housing for 3,500 resident aliens, in contrast to a permanent local population of two hundred (Bottomley 1976, 1). Finally, the landscape of St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands after 1950 reveals a residential tourist housing "boom" which has been facilitated by political affiliations with the American mainland (see United States 1958, photorevised 1982). Political, social and economic stability constitute important considerations in the selection of an island for residential purposes, since the endeavour requires a major commitment of time and money on the part of the investor.

Few housing developments are occupied solely by residential tourists, and exclusive foreign enclaves such as Mill Reef are anomalous because of their potential for generating local resentment. However, even when wealthy local elements are present, these elite spaces are often physically and psychologically isolated from the "local" environment, giving rise to the dichotomy mentioned in section 4.2.4. This syndrome of disassociation is often accompanied by the replication of metropolitan lifestyles.

which are customary to the tourists, and to which some local elements aspire. According to Henshall (1977, 76);

At first these new holiday homes were scattered throughout each territory, but later, as large-scale real estate developments were established, cottage colonies were set up, emphasising the separateness of the second home owners from the local environment, although only rarely do the visitors go to such lengths as to isolate themselves behind a fence, as at the Mill Reef Club in Antigua. In some cases, as at Holetown in Barbados and Grande Anse Bay in Grenada, cottages are combined with hotels, restaurants and shopping centres to form a tourist enclave within which the visitor can enjoy all the comforts of suburbia.

Most Caribbean governments encourage residential tourist development, which generates temporary and permanent jobs, and provides a long term supplement to government revenue through taxation. From an investment perspective, a residential vacation provided through second home ownership reduces the relative costs of fixed expenditures such as airfare and departure tax. In addition, the property may generate rental income in the owner's absence, and possess a high resale value as long as the destination remains stable. The tourist housing estate market is, however, accessible only to a relatively small number of vacationers.

4.4.5 Self-Catering Tourism

Self-catering forms of tourist accommodation (or "apartments") combine characteristics of the hotel and residential tourist sectors. The condominium concept, a major type, was introduced into Florida as recently as 1963, after having originated earlier in Brazil, Venezuela and Puerto Rico (Carter 1983, 41). Condominiums were established on a large scale in the Caribbean during the 1970's as their success in Florida became apparent. A newer self-catering option is the "timeshare" scheme, where the tourist acquires the right to use a facility for a given length of time each year over a long period (Timeshare International Inc. 1982, Trowbridge n.d.).

Tenure possibilities in self-catering tourism range from total or partial tourist ownership to temporary rental (as in the case of apartment hotels). Length of stay is also extremely variable, with the average duration presumably situated between hotels and estate housing (see figure 1.4). Physical structures tend to take the form of higher density multi-unit townhouses and apartments, many of which formerly served as conventional hotels. Timesharing schemes have also been applied to single-unit structures. Having implied the distinctiveness of this sector, it must be stressed that the division between

conventional hotels and self-catering accommodations is becoming increasingly vague as new options are introduced and others are combined with traditional hotels under the same roof.

New constructions are being dominated by self-catering facilities on many Caribbean islands. In Antigua, they include the newly completed Halcyon Heights and Siboney Beach developments, while the proposed Deep Bay project emphasizes timeshare accommodation. The popularity of self-catering tourism from the vacationer's perspective is based in theory upon its lower cost, greater user flexibility, and accessibility to a wider resale market, unlike single unit estate homes. From the developer's perspective, a portion of the investment risk is transferred to the individual buyer, less labour for maintenance and services is required, and the structures may be readily converted into other forms of accommodation, depending on the vacillations of the market. Self-catering facilities represent a substantial diversification of the tourist industry in regard to vacation and investment options, thereby reducing the dependency upon the traditional full service hotel. Like the large resort complex, they are associated with destinations more advanced along the resort cycle, such as the Bahamas, Jamaica and the US Virgin Islands.

4.4.6 Family Tourism

Family tourism entails the visiting of family and friends, who provide accommodation for the tourist. An estimated 8% of all stayovers in Antigua fall into this category (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, Table 19), although the proportion increases substantially for destinations such as Puerto Rico, which attracts a large number of former residents from the mainland United States. Unlike other sectors, motivations tend to be social rather than recreational, or a combination of the two. Activities are dispersed throughout "local" spaces beyond the tourist zone where families and acquaintances reside, and therefore no distinct landscape forms are generated.

4.5 Local Distortions

Figure 4.6 depicts the mature heliotropic tourism landscape model as it would appear under ideal conditions. In reality, every destination is distorted by variables, both tangible and intangible, which exist in the local physical and cultural environments. A review of these distortions is necessary in order to assess the extent to which individual destinations deviate from the ideal model.

4.5.1 Physical Elements

The variability of physical environment along the coast of a particular destination influences the evolution and character of its tourist ecumene, since certain areas in reality are more favourable than others for heliotropic resort development. Sites which combine white sand beachfront, protected swimming areas and a suitable microclimate with aesthetically attractive surroundings constitute the most desirable environment for the establishment of resorts, and are likely to be selected for initial development during the transition stage, when the emphasis of the tourist industry shifts to a beach oriented mass market.

The occurrence of physical resources favourable to certain specialized tourist activities, such as yachting, is entirely idiosyncratic. Less desirable coastal environments, in contrast, tend to remain undeveloped until the highly favourable sites are occupied, although estate housing may prefer such locations. Where the demand for resort accommodation persists after the best sites are developed, options for development within the less desirable environments may include the downscaling or adaptation of projects to the physical limitations of the area, or the modification of the environment itself in order to create the desired conditions.

The growth of Ocho Rios, Jamaica illustrates the process whereby a relatively unfavourable set of physical conditions can be altered to create a desirable but contrived resort environment (Hudson 1976, Sealy 1982). These modifications included the dredging of the harbour in order to obtain sufficient sand for the construction of a beachfront suitable to the establishment of a resort complex. Such projects are deemed to be feasible where the costs of modification are offset by less expensive land costs and potential tourist revenues. Other examples of large scale environmental modification in the Caribbean for resort development include the Gros Islet project in northern St. Lucia and the Freeport-Lucaya development on Grand Bahama Island.

Other places in the Caribbean where physical limitations have clearly curtailed or delayed development include the coast of Barbados north of Bathsheba (field investigation 1980), where otherwise prime beachfront remains undeveloped due to the presence of high waves and a dangerous undertow which causes the water to be unsuitable for swimming. The ubiquitousness of black sand beaches in Montserrat, St. Vincent and Dominica has evidently contributed to low demand and the overall absence of large scale tourism growth on those islands. In Antigua, the north-east coast has remained undeveloped due to the lack of beaches. Anticipated projects in this area, mainly in the residential tourist housing sector,

are less dependent upon the presence of prime beachfront. The concentric model may also be distorted by the establishment of "mountain" resorts, such as Mandeville in the interior of Jamaica, which capitalize upon the upland climate and serve as cool weather retreats for members of the local elite and a portion of the tourist market (Pearson 1957). The status of such areas as "heliotropic" resorts is open to question.

4.5.2 Cultural Elements

A variety of cultural and social variables must be considered in conjunction with the physical environment when examining distortions. The establishment of tourism-related facilities in coastal areas is occasionally precluded by existing nontourist land uses, some of which may also discourage resort development in their vicinity due to pollution, aesthetic incompatibility or other factors. In addition, where defunct industrial or military lands are made available for other forms of development, the existing physical plant must sometimes be demolished because of its unsuitability for conversion to tourist use. According to Van Paassen (1974, 12), the man-made environment therefore functions as an obstacle to development in the same manner as the physical environment, although in neither case are these obstacles insurmountable. The military and industrial activities

occurring in the vicinity of Antigua's Coolidge airport provide examples of nontourist land use which restrict resort development, thereby distorting the model.

In many instances, established patterns of land use positively influence the location of resort facilities because of their adaptability to tourist use. S. Britton (1980, 154) asserts in the case of Fiji that the "spatial organisation of tourism activity is directly related to pre-existing fixed capital originally developed to serve colonial interests". Certain Antiguan "great houses", in similar fashion, were converted into resorts such as the Antigua Beach Hotel and Sugar Mill with relative ease due to their functional flexibility and proximity to the beach. Nonviable estates were available as convenient blocs of land for development purposes, thereby eliminating the costly and time consuming assembly of small plots which frequently lacked clear legal status. As well, port facilities originally constructed to handle sugar and other commodity exports were modified in order to accommodate cruise ship traffic, even though the site itself may not have been ideally suited to the latter. Basic patterns of tenure and infrastructure established during the plantation era have therefore proven influential in determining the location of resorts and residential developments in Antigua.

Patterns of military activity in the Caribbean have also affected the development of tourism space, as relict

fortifications, including La Citadelle in Haiti and Brimstone Hill in St. Kitt's have been renovated or preserved as major tourist attractions. The former naval facility of Nelson's Dockyards, having relinquished its function as a service centre for battlecraft, has managed to regain its strategic value by adjusting to the requirements of pleasurecraft. Among the artifacts of World War II, the deactivation of Coolidge airfield represents the most obvious example of conversion, along with the reopening of the American officers' facility as the Lord Nelson Club. However, adaptations of the latter nature are relatively unusual because of the location and specialized nature of former military facilities.

An absence of basic infrastructure precludes most forms of tourism activity, and is associated with unfavourable physical environments (such as those found in nonintegrated space) or the abandonment of previously serviced marginal lands (deintegrated space). Furthermore, existing services in integrated areas may be insufficient to sustain resort development because of their low carrying capacity. Such problems are usually surmounted with relative ease through the extension or enlargement of existing services, although certain otherwise desirable areas, including Doig's Bay in Antigua, are remote enough that accessibility will be achieved only through substantial and currently prohibitive capital investments in infrastructure. The

problem of access to services is usually more characteristic of the interior, although with the exception of mountain resorts, such areas are seldom selected for purposes of tourist development. A more serious difficulty exists where the overall capability of a destination area to supply power and water to any new project (i.e., carrying capacity) is inadequate because of the inherent limitations of scale. A ceiling on growth must ensue under these circumstances until improvements can be made (for example, the construction of oil powered generators), unless individual resorts are equipped with their own independent power and water sources.

The impression of a uniform tertiary belt in the mature tourism landscape may be distorted by the persistence of viable pockets of agricultural land and other economic activities unrelated to tourism. For example, the government of Antigua has allocated an area of approximately 3,500 acres for sugarcane production in an attempt to revitalize the sugar industry (Antigua and Barbuda 1982, 14). Barbados is notable in the Caribbean as an island which has managed to maintain a dual economy (Carlozzi 1968), possessing a landscape which is differentiated between a coastal zone of tourist activity and an interior of sugarcane cultivation.

4.5.3 Intangibles

The evolution of a tourism landscape is affected by legislation, spatial perceptions, patterns of tenure and other cultural variables which may be considered intangible. Most destinations throughout the Third World have enacted legislation to regulate the use of land, and laissez-faire development environments are now exceptional. Aesthetic and social considerations, for example, have prompted the implementation of height restriction laws in Antigua, which has traditionally provided an otherwise open investment climate. These acts have had the effect of preserving the "foundation assets" upon which the industry is based, while maintaining the illusion of low density development along the beachfront. In sharp contrast to Antigua, the tourist industry of Socialist Cuba is entirely controlled by the government, resulting in a landscape of tourism which in its entirety reflects the decisions of central planning authorities. As well, few destinations have implemented restrictions on tourism development as severe as the Maldives Islands, which have prohibited the establishment of resorts on permanently inhabited islands (Domroes 1985).

Certain spaces are tacitly recognized as "tourist" or "local" (see Husbands 1984), and barriers, both physical and psychological, are often erected in order to define and enforce these territorial perceptions. The pronounced physical discrepancies which exist between tourist space

and local areas serve as a further indication of separation. Where visitors are deliberately isolated from the local population, a "tourist ghetto" may result, exemplified by the experience of Mill Reef. Similarly, certain local spaces and settlements (such as those in Hawaii referred to by Sommarstrom 1975) have established a reputation of being unfriendly to tourists who intrude upon them, thereby reinforcing the territorial dichotomy.

4.6 Factors in the Growth of Heliotropic Tourism: Local Scale

Factors accounting for the evolution of the resort cycle at the global and regional scales (especially as they pertained to Antigua) were briefly discussed in section 2.2.1. Having examined the actual development of Antiguan tourism, the local scale of analysis may now be considered as well. In essence, the global scale accounts for demand, or the generation of a worldwide travel market, while the regional and local scales are more concerned with the supply of the tourism product. All three scales are depicted in figure 4.9, which provides a chronology of events apparently associated in varying degrees with the pattern of tourism growth in Antigua (expressed in terms of stayover arrivals). No attempt is made to establish "cause and effect" relationships, since the growth curve is recognized as a complex product of

numerous factors, some of which may go unrecognized because of their obscure or confidential nature. Like the landscape model presented above, the resort cycle is subject to distortion in actual situations (represented by deviations in the S-curve). The circumstances which appear to induce these distortions therefore also merit consideration.

Most of the internal or case specific variables which contribute to the development of a destination's tourist trade may be classed under various categories of accessibility, including investment, psychological, physical and cost. Accessibility to investment refers to the set of conditions (i.e. investment climate) under which entrepreneurs and their capital are attracted to a particular area and allowed to establish the superstructure of tourist accommodation. During the "golden age" of tourism growth in the 1950's and 1960's, most Caribbean islands attempted to develop a tourism industry by enacting legislation to attract foreign investment capital. Antigua's Hotel Aid Ordinance of 1951, like Barbados' Hotel Aids Act of 1956 (Lewis 1977, 208) recognized the importance of monetary incentives and minimal government interference as means of achieving this goal. More recent acts, including Antigua's Condominium Act of 1973, were intended to recognize and accommodate new investment trends. Certain legislation, such as the Hotel Tax Act of 1962 and the implementation of height

restrictions, have functioned as disincentives, although these do not appear to have significantly altered Antigua's reputation as an open investment area. In general, the Caribbean (with the notable exception of Cuba) has been described as one of the best areas in the world to conduct business (Jonnard 1974), reflecting the widespread provision of positive investment accessibility in the region.

Psychological accessibility alludes to the market image of individual places as desirable tourist destinations, beyond the stereotyped regional level of perception. As illustrated by the evolution of Antigua's Tourist Board between the 1930's and 1980's, the role of government in promotion is more comprehensive during the advanced stages of the resort cycle, with the initial formation of an official tourism related body often representing the first concrete expression of local interest and involvement during the pre-tourism stage. The term "local", especially in the colonial era, refers to the local elite rather than the general population. Ongoing promotional campaigns have been effective in emphasizing the heliotropic image of Antigua, and the myth of 365 beaches ("one for each day of the year", stresses a recent advertising effort) is actively perpetuated. Recently introduced annual events including Sailing Week and Tennis Week, are directed towards specialized tourist groups, while the scheduling of Carnival during the summer

stimulates offseason visitor arrivals. Despite these government initiatives, most promotional efforts are still undertaken privately by the airlines, hotels, and travel agencies, which are less subject to local control. The external media has also been influential through travel supplement features, and through the reporting of special events such as the establishment of Mill Reef, the visit of Princess Margaret in 1954, and the restoration of Nelson's Dockyards. Potentially detrimental events such as the earthquake of 1974 and periodic labour disruptions do not appear to have significantly affected visitor arrivals, in part because these events did not receive international media coverage, unlike Grenada.

Physical accessibility refers to the existence of air and sea ports capable of accommodating tourist demand and new modes of transportation technology. The post war deactivation of Coolidge airbase as a military facility provided Antigua with a relative advantage over neighbouring islands, which offered only rudimentary air access. Subsequent improvements to the runway and terminal have been crucial in allowing visitor arrivals to reach their current proportions. Responsibility for the airport's daily operation rests with the locally controlled Ministry of Public Works and Communications, although the United States military retains the option of reactivating the airbase as a military facility at any time until the year 2040. As in most Third World

countries, control over the vital airline industry itself is almost entirely external, and landing rights must be negotiated between the government and the airlines. The withdrawal of services by the airlines for political or economic reasons would prove disastrous for the developed tourist industries of individual destinations, given the dependence upon air transport as a mode of visitor arrival. Physical access by sea was enhanced by the construction of the Deep Water Harbour in 1968, prior to which the growth of the cruise ship sector was impeded by serious infrastructural limitations.

A second aspect of physical accessibility considers the ease with which tourists are allowed to enter and leave the destination country. Restrictions are sometimes directed towards nationals of particular countries through visa requirements, currency limitations, etc. As well, these may be imposed by a country against its own citizens travelling to certain places, thereby increasing the vulnerability of destinations to the political pressures of influential market countries. The imposition of restrictions by the American government on travel to Cuba since the early 1960's illustrates this effect. Excessive departure taxes levied by certain destinations may also serve to dissuade some travellers for economic and psychological reasons.

The accessibility of a destination influences cost. Gray (1982, 108-09) cites the willingness of "mass"

tourists to travel wherever the basic, secure warm weather resort product is offered, with price becoming the single most crucial variable in the individual's selection of a vacation spot. Although highly accessible from the other perspectives discussed above, Antigua's historical reputation as an "upscale" or expensive destination (Zinder 1969, 15, World Bank 1979, 19) may have hindered the attainment of even higher growth rates over the past thirty years by limiting the range of potential visitors. The influence of price over visitor arrivals was clearly demonstrated by the impact of the 1973 oil crisis upon the Caribbean tourist industry. Because most cost factors are determined in large part within the tourist generating countries, local control over price is limited, although governments can attempt to exercise some influence through incentives, sales and departure tax reductions and other measures.

Finally, the closures of the sugar refinery in 1972 and the oil refinery in 1975 may be interpreted as negative local occurrences which stimulated the tourist industry of Antigua by reinforcing the belief that tourism constituted the only reliable long term source of revenue and employment opportunities for the island.

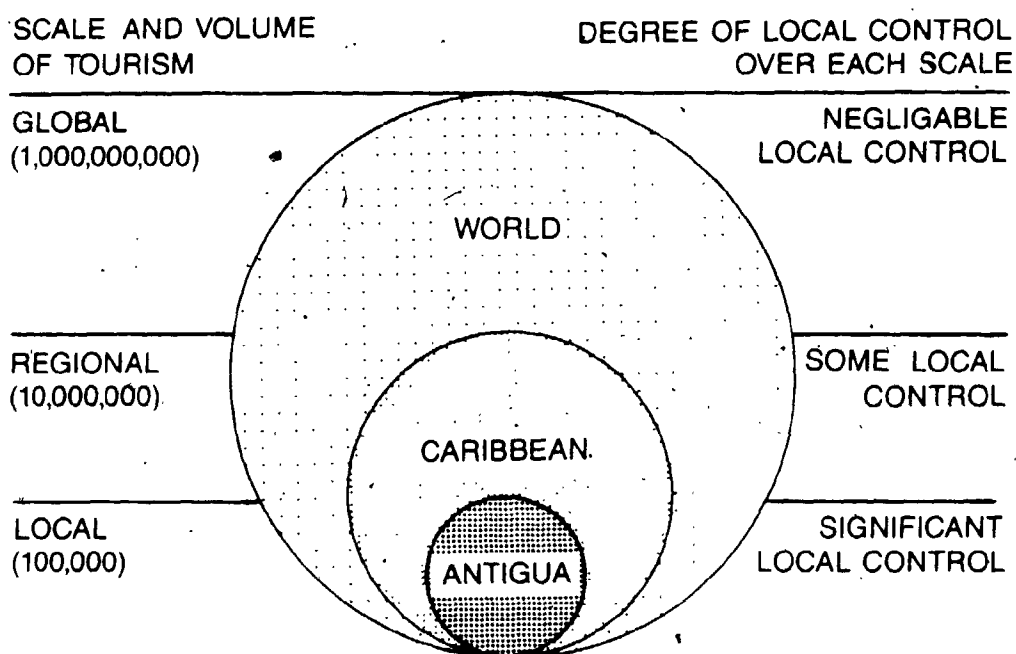
Certain pertinent observations may be made in regard to figure 4.9, since there is predictive value in being able to identify the crucial types of events, decisions

and circumstances which appear to induce changes in the cycle. The case specific events cited from 1930 to 1960 generally represent the local adoption of pioneering innovations and initiatives which prepared the area for active tourism involvement, given the emergence of a global travel market. It is appropriate therefore that these events should coincide on the growth curve with Butler's "involvement" stage, during which "Some level of organization in tourist travel arrangements can be expected, and the first pressures put upon governments and public agencies to provide or improve transport and other facilities for visitors" (Butler 1980, 8). Thus, certain factors at the local scale influence accessibility, and largely determine the point at which destinations begin to actively enter the tourism business. Subsequent events at the local level represent refinements of these initiative efforts or adjustments to new innovations originating in the tourist generating regions. However, such efforts may only partially compensate for negative global scale events such as the 1973 oil crisis, to which the significant departure in the S-curve is almost certainly attributable.

With increases in the scale of their tourist industries, small destinations tend to relinquish even more control because of the increased power and influence of foreign investment capital, airlines, hotels and other forces. Ironically, this increased dependency may coincide with the formal devolution of colonial structures

Figure 4.10

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCALE OF ANALYSIS,
TOURIST VOLUME AND CONTROL
FOR A SMALL SCALE DESTINATION AREA



in the destination country. Figure 4.10 illustrates the relationship between scale of analysis, the number of tourists affected at each scale and the influence exercised by the destination itself over each level (darker shading implies greater control). Antigua, representative of small heliotropic destinations in the Third World, thus attracts about 100,000 visitors annually from the worldwide market of approximately one billion, exercising a moderately high degree of control over this flow through the provision of access by government. In contrast, the global and regional, or external factors operate beyond the effective control of the individual destination. From a structuralist perspective, the notion of local control over any scale is illusory, since the decision-making local elites are perceived to be in collusion with expatriate investment interests, which are capable of exerting enormous pressure upon governments to follow particular policies.

4.7 Summary of Structural Changes

Figure 4.11 provides an idealized summary of the spatial and structural changes which characterize the evolution of tourism in small scale heliotropic destinations. The table is presented in such a way as to emphasize the dichotomy between the pre-tourism and tourism dominant stages, while the characteristics of the

Figure 4.11

THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF HELIOTROPIC TOURISM

CHARACTERISTIC	PRE-TOURISM	TOURISM DOMINANT
LANDSCAPE IMPACT	Passive, small scale	Active, large scale
ECONOMIC STATUS	Minor	Dominant
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION	Dispersed	Coastal
CONTROL	Local elites	Expatriate
FACILITY TYPE	Small Hotels, "great houses"	Large integrated resorts
ACCESSIBILITY	Low: Steamship, Small plane	High: Jet
TYPE OF TOURIST	Traveller	Mass tourist
VOLUME	Sporadic, small scale	Large scale, Charters
SEASONALITY	Year round	Winter
ACTIVITIES	Diverse: exploration	Marine oriented leisure

transition stage are assumed to be a combination of the two.

Summary

Using an ordinal classification scheme, five profiles of tourism development in Antigua have been modelled, with the last representing the speculative mature tourism landscape model. The types of tourist activities which exist in the heliotropically oriented environment have been discussed, emphasizing their changing character through the resort cycle. Physical and cultural variables which distort the model were then presented, followed by the factors which underlie at several scales the progression of the resort cycle within a small scale destination. Finally, the essential structural changes accompanying this evolution have been summarized.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEVELOPMENTAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE TOURISM LANDSCAPE

Barbaza (cited in Pearce 1981) writes that "theories and economic calculations must not refer to an abstract or homogeneous area but should deal with a living, vulnerable and valuable area which geographers must define and outline." Every attempt should therefore be made to relate the model of tourism space to the everyday reality of Third World destinations, and in particular, to the island of Antigua.

Meinig (1979) indicates that a particular landscape may be viewed from any number of different perspectives, each of which is based upon the interpreter's own subjective set of experiences, values and priorities. The landscapes of Third World tourism are commonly seen as expressions of political ideology, in part because the activity often entails direct contact between culturally and economically disparate groups within a setting of pronounced spatial inequality. The involvement of

peripheral environments therefore focusses attention upon the question of "development", in which the structuralist school of Frank (1967), Beckford (1972) and others is frequently contrasted with the unilineal "traditionalist" economic perspective represented among others by Rostow (1960) and Friedmann (1966). Within this context, it is useful to distinguish between the terms "underdeveloping", which describes the deliberate economic and technological suppression of the hinterland in order to maintain the wealth and dominance of the developed heartland region, and "developing", which is employed by the traditionalists to denote the sequential progress of the poorer areas towards an eventual state of economic prosperity. This perspective assumes that the development of Third World areas will emulate the experience of Europe, North America and Japan. Interpretations of the tourism landscape from both perspectives are offered below, and this is followed by a closer examination of tourism and "development" in Antigua.

5.1 The Tourism Landscape and Underdevelopment

From a structuralist perspective, the tourism landscape represents a subsystem of international capitalism, in which a particular set of resources is controlled and exploited in order to satisfy the changing

market requirements of the dominant metropolitan economies. Given the declining demand for tropical export crops and the increased demand for leisure, small island economies traditionally based upon plantation agriculture are being physically transformed by the introduction of mass tourism, while the production of export food commodities is consolidated in areas where rational economies of scale can be implemented. Metropolitan control over the periphery is therefore maintained, albeit in the new guise of tourism, and an island like Antigua may be characterized as a 'persistent and dependent component in the "peripheral capitalist cycle" (Henry 1982, 17). In this cycle, control spreads dendritically from the highest order centres in the metropolitan countries to the ports and plantations, and more recently, the resorts of their hinterlands (Frank 1967, 10). The plantation system essentially remains intact despite the shift to new forms of economic activity. In unintegrated areas where the plantation system has not been implemented, tourism may represent the first activity through which such areas are incorporated into the cycle of capitalism. Occasionally, small dependent states attempt to "de-link" their economies by establishing or strengthening ties with other underdeveloped states" (Diaz-Alejandro 1978). This strategy has not always proven successful, as illustrated by Brazil's ill-fated involvement with Antigua's Deep Bay scheme.

Just as the most fertile lands were appropriated for the establishment of plantations in the early colonial era, "a familiar pattern persists today as foreign-controlled tourist hotels and recreational facilities now seek out and occupy the area's most aesthetically desirable locations" (Richardson 1976, 553).

Because the spatial requirements of heliotropic tourism for the most part differ substantially from those of agriculture, an inversion of the space economy has resulted as the focus of activity has shifted from the integrated estate farmlands of the interior to the coast, where the majority of land is also controlled by nonresidents and local elites, who collaborate with and benefit from the structure of expatriate control. Extensive acquisitions of prime coastal land in recent years by foreign interests for speculative and recreational purposes have been noted at Kenya's Nyali Beach (Jackson 1973) and in the Seychelles (Wilson 1979, 219). These coasts thus gradually develop as "playgrounds" for the developed regions (Lett 1983, 43) in which a variety of heliotropically oriented tourist activities are undertaken. Revenues which are derived from these activities are for the most part lost to the metropolitan centres through import leakages and the repatriation of corporate profits..

As pointed out in section 4.2.4, a dichotomy emerges between the "elite" space of the coast, now perceived as

the most desirable environment because of changing resource needs, and a "local" interior functionally linked to the coast through the provision of labour. This dichotomy may be interpreted as a distinct spatial form of dualism, which has been cited by Demas (1965) as a primary indicator of underdevelopment (see section 2.1.2). The differences between the two spaces and the sense of alienation are reinforced through time as additional investment capital is diverted to the coast, where the highly valuable land can no longer sustain any "local" land uses other than those controlled by the elites.

The character of the Third World coastal tourism landscape is derived in large part through deliberate efforts to maintain the idyllic heliotropic image upon which the success of industrial scale tourism is increasingly based (Hiller 1979, 47). The contrast between these designed landscapes and the "local" environment is exacerbated when the resorts are physically isolated from the local reality. Many Caribbean commentators, including the Vincentian politician James Mitchell, have reacted negatively to the attempts by tourism related interests to stereotype and market the Caribbean as a carefree tropical paradise:

One myth that needs to be exploded is the idea of the Caribbean paradise. Let us face it, there is no paradise, only different ways of life. Not that paradise has been lost or destroyed but that it never existed, neither here nor in the Pacific (J. Mitchell 1972,

Related to the issue of image is the tendency of mass tourism developments to suppress local identities, and to create instead "placeless" landscapes (Relph 1981) which perpetuate an anonymous and pervasive international style (Eckbo 1969). However, rather than representing a threat to indigenous cultures, tourism developments in the Caribbean may be perceived as yet one more modification to landscapes and cultures which have already been almost entirely modified in the service of changing metropolitan interests (Trouillot, 1983, 216). In addition, the suggestion has frequently been made that large scale tourism engenders a loss of dignity as destinations attempt to maintain a suitable resort image while catering to the mass tourist market. According to Chodos (1977, 174-75);

Islands that are host to a mass tourist industry... become stodgy and subservient like Barbados, debased like Antigua, or deeply corrupt like the Bahamas... Antigua is, arguably, the country most seriously ravaged by tourism.

According to the structuralists, the tourism landscape therefore exists as a visible manifestation of structural underdevelopment, reflecting a modern or post-industrial form of metropolitan dominance easily accommodated within the existing plantation system.

5.2 The Tourism Landscape as a Positive Expression of Development

In contrast to the structuralist interpretation, the traditionalists perceive tourism as a potent force for modernization, citing the strong correlation between highly developed tourism sectors and relatively high per capita incomes (Bryden 1973, 46; also see appendix 1 in this study). In addition to the direct receipt of tourist revenues, ample opportunities for economic integration are made available as linkages between tourism and related local sectors such as construction are established or stimulated. The tourist industry is also touted as an activity suitable for filling the vacuum left by a declining export agricultural sector, without which the islands would experience a severe economic decline.

The primary elements of the tourism landscape provide concrete evidence of physical development and are often associated with prestige, while the supportive infrastructure (power, roads, airports, etc.) is utilized by the local population and contributes to the spatial integration and modernization of the destination. Through

these avenues, the benefits of tourism derived revenues are diffused to the general population without the corresponding net losses resulting from other forms of resource exploitation. As the local labour force becomes wealthier, the great discrepancies existing between the "elite" coast and the "local" interior will become less pronounced, and may eventually disappear altogether, thereby erasing the problem of spatial dualism engendered by the plantation system.

5.3. The Nature of Development

A core-periphery relationship is evident at the local scale in both scenarios, with an economically dominant coastal region (externally controlled) existing in juxtaposition with a stagnant interior. Whereas the structuralists perceive the existence of a positive feedback or "backwash" effect which reinforces the differences, the traditional approach emphasizes the operation of a negative feedback or "trickle-down" mechanism which eventually results in a greater spatial balance of benefits.

Whether or not the tourism landscape reflects "underdevelopment" or its opposite depends ultimately upon the interpreter's own assumptions regarding the fundamental nature of the development process. If, as

Goulet (1971, 44) maintains, underdevelopment entails a sense of powerlessness and dependency as much as the more visible indications of economic and social poverty, then the scenario of Caribbean regional "development" is difficult to envisage. According to Girvan (1973, 26), the strength of a society's dependency upon external powers (and hence the degree of "underdevelopment") is contingent upon the level of material wealth aspired to, since the more complex industrial goods associated with material development must be imported. An ironic situation thus emerges where a high standard of living (a critical element of development) necessitates a high degree of dependency (a critical element of underdevelopment). The response is often given that a political or at least economic union of Caribbean microstate entities would create the economies of scale and resource base necessary to sustain a largely indigenous economy capable of producing these more complex goods. Unfortunately, attempts to create such a single entity are thwarted by the fragmented insular nature of the region, which has engendered strong local identities and parochial loyalties. Furthermore, the establishment of inter-island linkages is hindered by the existence of strong economic ties between individual islands and metropolitan countries, reflecting three hundred years of colonial entrenchment, and giving rise to a wide variety of incompatible political dispensations (Clarke 1976).

The failure of the West Indian Federation, which attempted to politically unify a number of English speaking entities, attests to the great problems faced in creating a united Caribbean. The same problems would likely be encountered in similar regions within the pleasure periphery, such as the South Pacific.

5.4 Tourism and Development in Antigua

The importance of tourism to Antigua in the 1980's is evident to anyone who visits the island in a research capacity. Whether the overall effect of the industry is judged positive or negative ultimately depends upon the perspective of the observer, who interprets the information around him through a filter of preconceived biases. Although a degree of subjectivity is therefore inevitable no matter how "scientific" the enquiry, the researcher should be willing to enter the field with an open mind, making an honest attempt to understand all sides of the issue, and to revise his original perspectives, if necessary. The following observations regarding the effects of tourism reflect the author's concern over the continued large scale development of the tourist industry in Antigua. This concern has come about as the result of several visits to the island, among other Caribbean destinations, and it is hoped that an honest

effort to understand tourism and its consequences is revealed herein.

The main impression created from field work in Antigua is the existence of two entirely distinct and disparate but intimately related environments created as a result of tourism. This lends credence to the structuralist interpretation, which assigns a neo-plantation role to the mass tourist industry. The coast, blessed by long hours of sunshine and a continuous cooling tradewind, fulfills the visitor's expectations of a Caribbean tropical paradise, with carefully groomed estate homes and modern resorts suggesting an aura of prosperity. In contrast, the visitor is impressed by the starkness and poverty of the interior, where the majority of Antiguans live. This obviously degraded and unproductive semi-desert landscape, largely abandoned as a source of livelihood, is made even more visually unappealing by the garbage which is strewn with no apparent concern around the countryside.

The contrast is entirely evident to the Antiguan villagers, many of whom have obtained employment in resorts located near their small, compact settlements. Through jobs mainly based upon menial labour, these Antiguans are brought into contact each day with a lifestyle which most can never realistically hope to attain. Low wages, in addition, do not provide adequate income to meet the island's high cost of living. These

inequalities may account in part for the surliness which is frequently encountered and commented upon by the visitor. For example, the expression "Bolans pout" is used by some to describe the attitude of the employees of the Jolly Beach Hotel, most of whom reside in Bolans village. Efforts have subsequently been made by hotel owners and government to instill a "positive" tourism attitude in the people, although this seems instead to have created even more resentment. Such feelings are furthered by commonly held perceptions that the hotels and estates are given priority over locals during periods of water and power shortage.

Although tourism has undoubtedly contributed to improvements in the material welfare of many Antiguans, one is struck by the continuing dependency of the island upon the developed world in the post-independence era. While the early American interest in Antigua was based primarily upon the island's strategic location, the United States today is also concerned with protecting its extensive capital investments on the island as well as the growing number of American residents, which includes the Mill Reef elite. The United States is therefore committed more than ever before to ensuring the presence of a friendly, if not servile government in its "backyard". In recent years, Antigua has adhered closely to the the foreign policy line of the United States, expressing support for the invasion of Grenada and recently offering

to provide facilities for the training of the U.S.-sponsored Caribbean Defence Force.

It would be unfair to attribute all the problems of Antigua to the tourist industry, which should continue to occupy a prominent niche in the island's economy as a source of employment and revenue. However, unless the industry is used as a vehicle to bring about greater economic equality and independence, the growing mood of discontent could result in a period of social and political unrest. In such a scenario, the mainly white tourists could be targeted as an outlet for the frustrations of those who have not benefitted from tourism. As Antigua continues to provide a laissez-faire investment climate in order to attract luxurious large scale developments such as the St. James Club and the Deep Bay scheme, the subservient "playground" image of Antigua will remain, and the likelihood of unrest will increase as the gap between rich and poor continues to widen. The Antiguan must seriously assess whether greater government intervention and/or alternative structures of tourism should be implemented as part of a strategy to reduce economic disparities. In any event, this will be difficult to achieve given the inherent limitations of scale and the continuing and overwhelming dominance of metropolitan powers such as the United States.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Recognizing the potential of tourism to generate distinctive landscapes, the present investigation was motivated by an awareness of the activity's recent large scale expansion into the world's less developed regions, where a "pleasure periphery" is seen to be evolving. Few studies to date have considered the spatial characteristics of tourism in a Third World plantation context, and relevant areas of concern therefore included the nature of these landscapes, their underlying order and evolution, the factors which influenced their formation, and their significance to the "development" process.

Antigua was selected as a case study for empirical investigation because of its status as a Third World plantation system within a region affected substantially by the resort industry. In addition, implications of significant spatial change underlie Antigua's recent history of rapid tourism growth and economic transformation. Furthermore, the small scale insular environment of Antigua typifies many "pleasure periphery" destinations while lending ready definition to a study

area small enough to be examined in detail..

Based upon the identification of pre-tourism, transition and tourism dominant stages implicit within the economic transition model for Antigua, representative years were selected for the construction of tourism profiles, on the assumption that these would reveal a sequence of significant landscape changes. A descriptive history of Antiguan tourism followed which featured these profiles, thereby allowing for the subsequent modelling and discussion of the resort cycle process.

An ordinal classification scheme suitable for choropleth mapping was devised in order to identify generalized components of the landscape according to their degree of association with tourism. Accordingly, "primary" status refers to those features which are directly and primarily used by tourists, while "secondary" associations reflect a combined tourist/local use, and a "tertiary" designation describes features indirectly affected by tourism. Integrated and unintegrated "nontourist" associations were also identified.

The pre-tourism landscape model emerging from the 1943 profile is classified entirely as "nontourist" due to the low volume and dispersed nature of tourism. The minor amount of tourism which does occur may be described as a passive activity accommodated mainly within the existing infrastructure and superstructure of the dominant agricultural sector. Agriculture and tourism temporarily

co-dominate during the transitional phase, where the establishment of specialized primary resort nodes along the coast reflects the emergence of an active tourism sector drawing upon the heliotropic resources of the destination. Secondary areas such as airports and estate housing projects also emerge, while localized zones of tertiary influence begin to form in the vicinity of the incipient resorts. Because of the continuing importance of agriculture, extensive areas in the integrated interior remain nontourist.

The entire destination is affected by the resort industry in the tourism dominant stage, excepting only the remnant unintegrated spaces of the remote interior. Resort nodes begin to coalesce through expansion and addition, giving rise to strips of primary space in favourable locations along the coast, while areas formerly dominated by agriculture are now classified as secondary or tertiary. The concentric rings of tourist related activity which appear to be emerging during this latter stage find full expression in the mature tourism landscape. While this culmination of the heliotropic resort cycle has not yet actually taken place in Antigua, its anticipation is based upon current growth trends, project starts and proposals, the experiences of other destination areas, and the assumption that the travel demand in tourist generating regions will remain strong. In the mature landscape model, a narrow belt of primary

space is found along the coast, which constitutes the most desirable environment for heliotropic tourist activities. An adjacent secondary zone incorporates lower density land uses accommodating both tourists and locals, with the latter being represented mainly by the elite class. The adjoining tertiary belt is influenced indirectly by tourism because of resort oriented employment structures and the generally detrimental impact of tourism upon certain forms of agriculture. This association tends to dissipate with distance from the resorts, after which the nontourist space of the unintegrated interior is found. Finally, a zone of marine oriented activity surrounds the island, forming an important component of the tourism "landscape". The sole exception to this concentric pattern is found in the secondary form of the main town, which is so classified because of its diversity and scale. The model presented in this paper attests to the fundamental validity of Butler's resort cycle, in so far as Antigua has developed. However, the stage characterizations provided by Butler have been elaborated upon and modified within the context of Third World plantation systems.

Each stage of the cycle is marked by changes in the structural character of tourism, especially in the mode of incoming transportation, type of accommodation, control, and visitor type. In differentiating the mature landscape on a qualitative basis, six major categories of tourism

were identified, including cruise ship excursions, yachting, short term hotel visits, self-catering holidays, residential tourism and family tourism. Particular spatial characteristics were found to be associated with each type, while their importance varied from one destination to another.

In "real-life" situations, the underlying order of the landscape model is subject to numerous distortions, both physical and cultural. These include the variable suitability of local environments for heliotropic tourism use, zoning restrictions, the availability of appropriate services, and existing land use. As for the factors which have influenced the pattern of spatial development outlined above, it is appreciated that no local control is exercised over the global events and trends which regulate the overall existence of a travel market. In contrast, elites and governments at the local scale exercise a high degree of control in attracting a certain proportion of this market, through the provision of investment, psychological and physical accessibility.

The relationship between the tourism landscape and "development" is contingent upon the interpreter's own assumptions regarding the nature of that process, which is most often approached from either the structuralist or contrasting traditional perspective. The objective process of rapid physical and economic change may therefore be seen either as a deliberate strategy on the

part of the metropolitan powers to maintain control over the periphery by redefining the utility of those areas, or as an indication of progressive modernization and increased overall prosperity. Spatially, the growing alienation of the tourist-elite coast relative to the interior is seen by the structuralists as an exploitive relationship which reinforces spatial dualism by denying local access to the most desirable environments. On the other hand, the traditional approach interprets these developments as visible symbols of physical progress which generate local entrepreneurial activity and involvement, with benefits trickling back to the interior through wage earnings and other forms of tourist revenue. Whichever version one chooses to accept, the expansion of tourism is a reality which has significantly altered the landscapes of many peripheral destination areas. A greater understanding of this process, whether it be from the perspective of an economist, sociologist or geographer, will hopefully contribute to the pursuit of options and strategies which best fulfill the aspirations of the people.

While the scope of the present study was limited primarily to the presentation of a plantation tourism model, numerous potential research avenues were implied. Possibilities include the empirical testing of the model in other plantation and non-plantation areas, and further

applications of the resort cycle concept in order to identify the growth trends and carrying capacities of various destinations. Survey-oriented research could also be undertaken to solicit the characteristics and attitudes of tourists and locals during various stages of development. Further, little effort has so far been made to explore the geographical significance of the cruise ship, yachting, residential tourist and self-catering sectors of heliotropic tourism, despite their obvious importance to certain destinations. At the macro scale, the pleasure periphery requires spatial definition and the application of diffusion theory in order to trace the pattern of its development. In addition, the spatial relationship between tourism and plantation agriculture should be further explored. These ideas represent only some of the future possibilities in the geography of Third World tourism, a field which still requires a great deal of initial investigative research.

APPENDIX 1

CARIBBEAN TOURISM STATISTICS

	Area ¹ km2	1984 Pop. (000s)	GNP per capita US\$	Tourism as % of GNP 1979 ⁵	Stayovers ⁴ (000s) 1970 1984
ANGUILLA	88	7	NA	NA	1 11
ANTIGUA	442	79	1550 ^{2,8}	20	63 129
BAHAMAS	13935	228	3830 ^{2,7}	70	892 1340
BARBADOS	431	252 ⁶	3661 ^{2,7}	39	156 368
BERMUDA	53	55 ⁹	14800 ^{5,6}	36 ^{5,6}	303 418
BVI	153	12 ⁶	2600 ^{3,10}	74 ^{5,6}	34 122
CAYMAN IS.	259	19 ⁶	5000 ^{2,6}	73	23 149
DOMINICA	751	75 ⁸	761 ^{2,7}	7	14 22
DOM. REP.	48734	6300 ⁷	1330 ^{2,7}	2	63 400
GRENADA	345	115 ⁷	850 ^{2,8}	21	30 40
GUADELOUPE	1780	328 ⁷	3260 ^{3,10}	6	47 164
HAITI	27750	5200 ⁶	300 ^{2,7}	5	34 160
JAMAICA	10991	2310 ⁶	1330 ^{5,7}	7	309 603
MARTINIQUE	1106	330 ⁶	4680 ^{3,10}	5 ^{5,6}	33 184
MONTSERRAT	102	12 ⁶	2200 ^{2,6}	25 ^{5,6}	10 16
NETH. ANTILLES	993	260 ⁶	4540 ^{5,8}	27	289 690
Aruba	188	67 ⁶	"	"	75 210
Bonaire	327	10 ⁶	"	"	7 30
Curacao	444	165 ⁶	"	"	107 130
St. Maarten	34	16 ⁶	"	"	100 320
PUERTO RICO	8897	3197 ⁹	2970 ^{3,10}	6	1088 1530
ST. KITTS	262	44 ⁷	1040 ^{2,8}	15	14 40
ST. LUCIA	616	12 ⁷	970 ^{2,8}	35	30 86
ST. VINCENT	389	123 ⁷	630 ^{2,8}	18	16 39
TRIN./TOB.	5128	1160 ⁹	5670 ^{3,10}	2	84 190
TURKS/CAICOS	430	7 ⁹	800 ^{3,10}	83	2 17
USVI	344	100	5580 ^{3,10}	41	372 368

Notes:

- ¹Baedeker's 1982 ²Statesman's 1985-86
³Latin America and Contemporary Caribbean Record 1985
⁴Caribbean Tourism Research and Development Centre (CTRC) 1985
⁵Europa Yearbook 1985
⁶1983 ⁷1982 ⁸1981 ⁹1980 ¹⁰1979
¹¹Caribbean average, based on CTCRC 1985

APPENDIX 1 (cont.)

	average stay ⁹	tda	thr	tfr	1982 no. of rooms ⁴	1984 Cruise ship excursionists ⁴ (000s)
ANGUILLA	5.0 ¹¹	148	47	3.7	240	0
ANTIGUA	7.5	2660	28	2.8	2106	66
BAHAMAS	6.6 ⁶	24230	9	5.5	13233	908
BARBADOS	7.5	7561	33	6.6	14800 ⁹	99
BERMUDA	4.9	5611	10	15.7	9420	111
BVI	7.0	2340	5	6.9	764	25
CAYMAN IS.	4.2 ⁷	1715	11	12.9	2037	204
DOMINICA	8.2 ¹¹	494	152	.4	280	3
DOM. REP.	5.0 ¹¹	5479	1150	.8	4305	143
GRENADA	8.5	932	123	.6	467	34
GUADELOUPE	5.8	2606	126	1.0	3358	34
HAITI	5.0 ¹¹	2192	2372	.1	3595	118
JAMAICA	9.0	14868	155	.5	11015	231
MARTINIQUE	5.1 ⁶	2571	128	.9	3070	136
MONTSERRAT	8.1 ⁶	355	34	2.3	260	4
NETH. ANTILLES	-	-	-	2.7	6482 ⁶	225
Aruba	6.6 ⁶	3797	18	3.9	2460 ⁶	30
Bonaire	5.8 ⁶	477	21	3.9	348 ⁸	1
Curacao	4.4	1567	105	1.1	1761	121
St. Maarten	5.0	4383	4	16.8	1913	73
PUERTO RICO	3.5 ⁶	14671	218	.2	7418	436
ST. KITTS	5.7 ⁶	625	202	1.6	706	34
ST. LUCIA	8.9 ⁷	2097	61	1.3	14444	37
ST. VINCENT	8.0 ¹¹	855	144	.4	527	64
TRIN./TOB.	5.0 ¹¹	2603	446	.1	1749	5
TURKS/CAICOS	5.0 ¹¹	233	30	4.4	329	0
USVI	7.6 ⁸	7662	13	4.3	4578	368

Notes: see previous page

APPENDIX 2

ANTIGUA TOURISM STATISTICS

Year	Stayover By Air	Arrivals By Sea	Arrivals Total	Cruise Ship Arrivals	No. of Calls	Yachts	Passen- gers
1955	7038 ¹	3000 ²	10038	1202 ¹			
1956	8324 ¹	3278	11602	2363			
1957			13309				
1958			16134				
1959	16605	4404	21009	4312			
1960	25380	4841	30221	4241			
1961	24365	2147	26512	2560			
1962	33103	1998	35101	2080			
1963	40745	2527	43272	8951			
1964	43807	2311	46118	9619	19		
1965	46074	2577	48651	11776		357	
1966	54239	1418	55657	15911		405	
1967	57935	1239	59174	17166		369	
1968	54357	1481	55838	15763	43	510	5392
1969	59790	1472	61262	27690	70	596	5982
1970	63595	1774	65369	20542	71	691	6790
1971	66067	1570	67637	38117	101	608	5756
1972	70140	2188	72328	64099	137	661	3511
1973	71065	1721	72786	52529	113	821	
1974	68897	957	69854	28330	61	843	
1975	62114	857	62971	23237	41	899	5039
1976	56398	793	57191	34385	62	1122	5698
1977	67412	885	68297	35795	59	2131	7211
1978	75562	1335	76895	51942	96	2731	4819
1979	86459	1300	87759	70266	120	2040	8957
1980	86571	1100 ³	87671	107095	164	2707	9894
1981	84724	1100 ³	85824	113357	177	2527	12687
1982	87042	1000 ³	88142	66768	120	2242	10396
1983	101113			51987	85		
1984	129099 ²			66808	118		
1985	140000 ²			100000 ²			

Notes:

Source is Antigua Tourist Board 1962-1984,
unless otherwise noted

¹Workers Voice Aug. 24, 1957, p.1

²estimate: 1985 data based upon EIU 1985, no.4

³approximately 10% of official data

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

Year	Number of Units			Apt.	Total	tft	tda ⁴	thr	Pop.
	Large	Medium	Small						(000)
1943	0	0	42	0	42	.1	21 ⁵	1905	40
1963	80	199	223	25	527	.9	884	63	56
1973	486	248	264	65	1063	1.5	1500	47	70
1984	1038	381	229	231	1879	2.5	2877	26	75

Notes:

⁴Assumes length of stay of 7.5 days⁵Assumes 1,000 stayover tourists

APPENDIX 3

ANTIGUA AGRICULTURE STATISTICS

Year	Sugar Production (tons)	Cotton Production (lbs.)
1925	16,540	NA
1928	13,909	NA
1932	18,488	NA
1936	19,759	113,000
1940	12,472	426,557
1943	24,488	73,530
1946	26,024	284,502
1951	18,511	831,148
1953	31,588	277,204
1955	19,836 ¹	1,154,814 ²
1958	31,985 ¹	1,230,773 ²
1960	20,154	266,696 ²
1963	27,687	250,000
1968	3,000 ^{3,2}	116,438
1977	0	149,600
1980	0	34,900

Notes—

All data from the Caribbean Year
Book 1930-1981 except;

¹O'Loughlin 1961

²Henry 1985

³estimate

APPENDIX 4

TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN ANTIGUA 1943

SMALL HOTELS (no. of rooms)

Addelian (3)
Antigua Beach (22)
Globe (7)
Kensington (10)

APPENDIX 5

TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN ANTIGUA 1963

LARGE HOTELS (no. of rooms)

Jolly Beach (80)

MEDIUM APARTMENTS

Tradewinds (25)

MEDIUM HOTELS

Blue Waters (35)
Caribbean Beach Club (32)
Curtain Bluff (26)
Half Moon Bay (40)
Hawksbill Beach (36)
White Sands (30)

SMALL HOTELS

Admiral's Inn (10)
Anchorage (22)
Antigua Beach (22)
Antigua Horizons (24)
Barrymore (16)
Beachcomber (12)
English Harbour Inn (18)
Galley Bay (12)
Happy Acre (13)
Kensington (10)
Long Bay (20)
Lord Nelson (10)
Stephendale (12)
Sugar Mill (22)

APPENDIX 6

TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN ANTIGUA 1973

LARGE HOTELS (No. of rooms)

Anchorage (100)
Caribbean Beach Club (57)
Curtain Bluff (50)
Half Moon Bay (99)
Jolly Beach (80)
Mamora Bay (100)

MEDIUM APARTMENTS

Tradewinds (25)

SMALL APARTMENTS

Dian Bay Resorts (10)
Falmouth Beach (8)
Pelican Isle (8)
Runaway Bay (14)

MEDIUM HOTELS

Antigua Beach (33)
Antigua Horizons (44)
Blue Waters (35)
Castle Harbour (40)
English Harbour Inn (30)
Hawksbill Beach (36)
White Sands (30)

SMALL HOTELS

Admiral's Inn (10)
Atlantic Beach (24)
Barrymore (23)
Beachcomber (16)
Callaloo Beach (10)
Catamaran (12)
Cortland (10)
Galley Bay (16)
Kensington (10)
Jabberwocky (16)
Long Bay (20)
Lord Nelson (22)
Lyn's Hotel (12)
Meylock Inn (14)
Spanish Main (15)
Stephendale (12)
Sugar Mill (22)

APPENDIX 7

TOURIST ACCOMMODATION IN ANTIGUA 1984

LARGE HOTELS (No. of rooms)

Anchorage (100)
Curtain Bluff (50)
Halcyon Cove (153)
Halcyon Reef (100)
Half Moon Bay (99)
Hawksbill Beach (75)
Jolly Beach (461)

MEDIUM HOTELS

Antigua Beach (40)
Barrymore (32)
Blue Heron (40)
Blue Waters (48)
Cortisland (30)
English Harbour Inn (30)
Flamingo (38)
Galley Bay (28)
Hodges Bay Club (25)
New Antigua Horizons (37)
Sugar Mill (33)

SMALL HOTELS

Admiral's Inn (14)
Beachcomber (16)
Callaloo Beach (16)
Catamaran (11)
Cornwalls (24)
Joe Mikes (12)
Long Bay (24)
Long Island Resort (12)
Lord Nelson (16)
Meylock Inn (14)
Piggotsville (20)
Sandhaven (15)
Spanish Main (15)
Stephendale (20)

MEDIUM APARTMENTS

Antigua Village (34)
Falmouth Beach (28)
Runaway Bay (36)
Tradewinds (25)

SMALL APARTMENTS

Barrymore (20)
Brown's Bay (10)
Cape Coast Cottages (10)
Copper and Lumber
Store (13)
Dian Bay Resorts (8)
Galleon Beach (16)
Pelican Isle (7)
Siboney Beach (12)
Trev-T-Rone (12)

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locally significant as an agent of landscape change in a given destination, with the establishment of major facilities contingent upon the availability of a suitable environment for large scale docking under a variety of climatic conditions. For example, English Harbour served as a natural magnet attracting yacht related services, and this was accompanied soon after by the growth of overnight accommodations and local housing. In certain instances such as Gros Islet in northern St. Lucia (United Kingdom 1981), the environment for berthing is man-made, having been constructed in conjunction with related housing and resort developments. These areas represent nodes of local significance in the hierarchy of sailing centres, contrasting with major regional centres such as English Harbour.

4.4.3 Short Term Resort Tourism

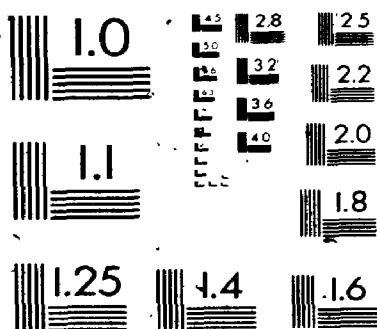
The dominant mode of tourism on most Caribbean islands consists of stayover visitors who utilize hotel accommodation and remain in the destination for five days to two weeks, a period of time normally coinciding with an average North American or European winter vacation. This sector accounts for over one-half of all tourist days in Antigua, and a similar proportion of revenues. On the basis of facility size, price and location, several subcategories can be identified, forming a hierarchy of

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NBS - 1010a
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